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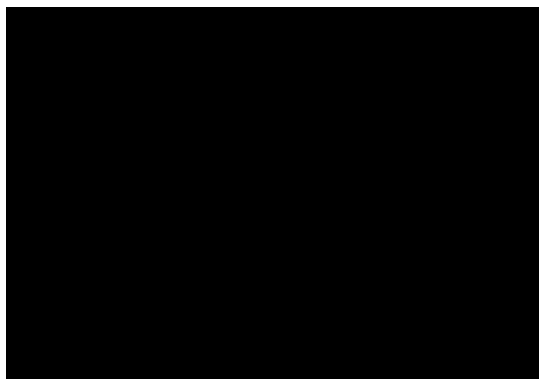
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THE
CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY
OF
BRITISH WORTHIES.

VOLUME I.

LONDON:
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—
1845.

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SECRET INFORMATION GALLERY

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY



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CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF BRITISH WORTHIES.



AMONG the histories of eminent kings, that of our Henry II. is one of the most remarkable both in its beginning and its end, both in the character of the man and in his fortunes; and, mostly tragic as the annals of human ambition are, there are few such histories that exemplify more impressively the instability and vanity of all earthly greatness.

Nature and fortune joined to make him great. The mother of Matilda, daughter of the English king Henry I., was through *that descent*, after the death of his grandfather, the undoubted male representative of William I.

liam the Conqueror, the founder of the reigning English dynasty, and as such the legitimate heir, at least after his mother, both of the crown of England and of the duchy of Normandy, the older acquisition of his house and race. His grandmother, the wife of Henry I., Matilda, daughter of Queen Margaret of Scotland, herself the daughter of Edward the Outlaw, in the veins of whose descendants now flowed the main stream of the blood of Egbert and Alfred and the old Saxon royal line. His father, whom his mother had married in 1122, two years after the death of her first husband, the emperor Henry V., by whom she had no issue, was Geoffrey Earl of Anjou, surnamed Plantagenet, from his assumption of his ensign, and wearing on the crest of his helmet a sprig of broom (in French *plante genêt*); whose father Earl Fulk, had immediately before this marriage resigned to him all his French possessions and honours, upon which he himself elected to the throne of Jerusalem, in which he was succeeded, on his death in 1143, by Baldwin, his son by a second marriage. Henry was the eldest son of Geoffrey and the empress, and was born at Le Mans, the capital of his father's county of Maine, in March 1133, about two years and nine months before the death of his grandfather King Henry.

Yet it is remarkable that each of these several advantages of descent which were thus united in his person was accompanied by some defect or drawback, as in the order that there might remain as much for him to do for himself as had been done for him by the accident of birth. His Saxon lineage gave him no claim to call himself the heir of the old race of English kings while there existed male descendants of his great-grandmother, Queen Margaret of Scotland, whose son David the First was now seated on the throne of that country, and was undoubtedly the true representative of King Edmund the Confessor and the Saxon royal line. Even between him and his legal right by inheritance to the English sceptre the Conqueror there stood his mother, to whom and to her son it was that Henry I. had made his barons swear fealty as his successor. Nor did he on the d

tain more than a qualified right to the crown, Geoffrey having directed in his will to resign it to his next brother Geoffrey if it came into the possession of the English king also made his bishops and barons take an oath they would not suffer his body to be buried elsewhere but would have sworn to perform whatever the king should command; which, accordingly, though with reluctance, he did. Geoffrey died on the 11th of September, 1151, in his forty-first year, being the first husband of the empress, who had long ceased to be the object of his affections, by seven or eight years. However, his son, styled by the French, the emperor (that is, son of the empress), had to undergo other changes of position and fortune. The throne of his grandfather, in December 1135, had been usurped by Stephen of Blois, and Matilda was a daughter of the Conqueror: she was married to the Earl of Blois, by whom she had three sons, of whom Stephen was the third. In the contest that ensued between Stephen and Matilda, Henry was in the latter part of the year 1141 sent by his father to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, a legitimate brother and faithful partisan, and was brought over to England. They landed, the next day, about the middle of November, at Dorsetshire, a town and castle belonging to the king, now held by the king's troops. The garrison, after some days, agreed to surrender to Gloucester, who sent with him from the continent a force of three hundred knights, if they should not be relieved within three weeks; and soon after, upon being informed that he had no intention of relieving them, he sent to the place. Matilda had never, since she had been in England three years before, been in such peril as at this moment—not even when, in the preceding year, she was surprised in Stephen's queen, and only saved herself by throwing her saddle from the table at which she was sitting a few weeks after when flying from Win-

chester, early on a Sunday morning, she and her escort were overtaken by the enemy at Stourbridge, and, while the Earl of Gloucester and all the rest were either taken prisoners or slain, she made her way, attended by a single follower, to Luggershall, and thence, after a rest of a few hours, by getting again upon horseback and continuing her rapid flight, to the castle of Devizes. She was now shut up in the castle of Oxford, which Stephen besieged with his whole army, disregarding in the meantime every other object, and determined to effect its reduction either by force or famine. All hope seemed to be gone; but, after she had endured the greatest privations, on the night of the 20th of December, she left the castle by a postern gate, with four knights, crossed the Thames, which was frozen over, and reached Abingdon on foot, having walked all the way through a deep snow, and having been enabled to escape the notice of the enemy, some accounts say, in part by herself and her attendants having clothed themselves in white linen. At Abingdon she took horse, and rode to Wallingford Castle. Hither a few days after the Earl of Gloucester, having started as soon as he heard the news, brought her her son. The sight of the boy, says an old chronicler, made her forget

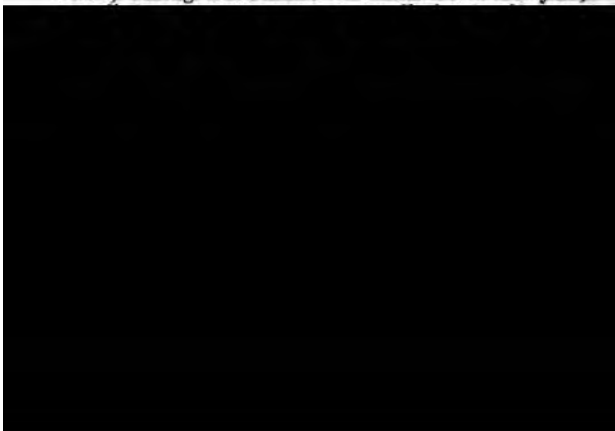


knowledge and valour were thought incompatible, and not to be able to read was a mark of nobility. This truly great man broke through that cloud of barbarous ignorance, and, after the example of his father King Henry, enlarged his understanding and humanised his mind by a commerce with the muses, which he assiduously cultivated, even in courts and camps, showing by his conduct how useful it was both to the statesman and general. The same love of science and literature he likewise infused into his nephew, who under his influence began to acquire what he never afterwards lost, an ardour for study and a knowledge of books not to be found in any other prince of those times. Indeed the four years he now passed in England laid the foundation of all that was afterwards most excellent in him; for his earliest impressions were taken from his uncle, who, not only in learning but in all other perfections—in magnanimity, valour, prudence, and all moral virtues,—was the best example that could be proposed to his imitation.”* Henry’s father, who after a long contest had now acquired complete possession of Normandy, recalled his son from England in the latter part of the year 1146; and in the beginning of November of that year, very soon after he had parted with his nephew, the Earl of Gloucester was carried off by a

* ‘History of the Life of King Henry II.’ i. 281.—Henry, when he first made his appearance in England, attracted observation, among other things, by being dressed, after the manner of boys in his native country, in a coat or jacket with short skirts, or perhaps without any skirts at all; whence they gave him the sobriquet of *curt-mantle*. This we learn from the writer of ‘Brompton’s Chronicle,’ who, in giving an account of Henry’s death, after telling us that those present, in their rapacity, stripped the royal corpse, and that it lay for a long time naked, till a boy threw over the lower part of it a short cloak, absurdly observes that thus was fulfilled the surname which the king had borne from *his infancy*, originally given to him because he had first brought the fashion of the short coat from Anjou into England.—Twisden, *Scriptores* x. 1150.

1182, and was then made Lord Chancellor by his father, to whom he steadily adhered in all fortunes, became in the next reign Archbishop of York, but resigned that see also in 1207, after holding it for about six years, and died in 1212. As for their mother, who was daughter of Walter de Clifford, a baron of Herefordshire, it is hardly necessary to say that there is no foundation for the story of the labyrinth in which she was concealed by her royal lover at Woodstock, and of her being discovered and forced to drink poison by Queen Eleanor, which has made her so renowned in popular romance. It is known that she spent her last years in the nunnery of Godstow, near Oxford, which she was probably induced to select for her retreat from her father having been a benefactor to that house: there she is said to have lived a life of devotion and penitence; but all that is known as to the time of her death is, that it took place before that of her father, and he was still alive in 1165.

Henry, finding that nothing could be done at present in England, returned, in the beginning of the year 1150, to Normandy; and soon after that duchy was resigned to him by his father, the French king Louis VII. (*Le Jeune*) having come thither in the autumn of this year,



year after. This was not long in being followed
 other, for which he was still more directly or
 ily indebted to King Louis than he had been for
 shy of Normandy. That well-meaning but some-
 rank monarch had long been dissatisfied with his

Eleanor, or, as she is more commonly called in
 sonicles of the time, Alienor or Aenor, daughter
 less of William, Duke of Guienne or Aquitaine and
 of Poitou, countries extending along the whole
 western coast of France, from the Loire to the
 sea, which her marriage, celebrated immediately
 or father's death, in the year 1137, when she was
 teen, had annexed to the French crown. It seems

g that any considerations should have blinded Louis
 impolicy of allowing possessions of such extent and
 value, constituting more than a third of his king-
 dom to pass out of his hands after he had once got hold
 of it; yet so it was; he had been tormented by feel-
 ings of jealousy ever since Eleanor had been with him,

year 1148, in the Holy Land, where he imagined
 he had a variety of intrigues both with Christian
 and Jewish lovers; she on her part had come to look
 with contempt upon her husband, the character of whose
 conduct seemed in her eyes to make him fitter for being a
 than a king; and the end was that in the beginning
 of the year 1152 she submitted to a divorce, or rather

the marriage was dissolved by mutual consent; for,
 when at the council of bishops which assembled at
 Sens-sur-Loire to take the matter into considera-
 tion, before which Eleanor made her appearance,
 she asked for a divorce on the plea of his suspicions of
 infidelity, the council pronounced no opinion upon that

but simply declared the marriage to have been
 void from the beginning, on the common and convenient
 ground of the consanguinity of the parties, who were
 first cousins, the canons of the Church forbidding mar-

riage without a previous dispensation from the pope,
 between persons related within the seventh degree.

The scandalous chronicles of the time affirm that Eleanor
 was already, before her separation from her husband

he was detained on the continent by having to take arms against a formidable confederacy organized by King Louis, who had now at length opened his eyes, and turned them with amazement and consternation upon his youthful vassal, suddenly become his rival and almost his equal, and had got his own brother the Earl of Dreux, Henry's brother Geoffrey, Eleanor's other disappointed suitor the Earl of Blois, and King Stephen's son Eustace, to join him in an invasion of Normandy. But this attack was repulsed in a campaign of less than six weeks' duration; not only were the invaders driven out of the country to the last man, and an insurrection which they had excited of some of the Anjevin barons effectually crushed, but Henry, pursuing his enemies into France, laid waste a part of that country without Louis daring to turn round and give him battle. This work done, and a peace arranged with the French king, he lost no time in setting about the great enterprise to which all things now seemed to concur in calling him. He landed in England on the 6th of January, 1153, at the head of a force of three thousand foot and a hundred and forty knights. There was some fighting, but no considerable action; and, after the principal impediment in the way of an accommodation had been removed by the death of Stephen's son



the 10th; and the commencement of his reign, according to what was then the custom, is reckoned from that day.

Of course, in the circumstances, Henry did not now think of resigning Anjou to his brother Geoffrey, whose late confederacy with the French king and attack upon Normandy, amounting to rebellion in him, could not but be considered as depriving him of any claim he might have under his father's will and Henry's forced engagement to fulfil its provisions. To obviate all objections, however, Henry obtained from the pope a dispensation releasing him from that compulsory oath. A few years after this he recovered the ceded district of the Vexin for Normandy by the arrangement of marriage between his eldest son and a daughter of King Louis; and he subsequently acquired what amounted to the actual possession of Bretagne by the negotiation of another marriage between his third son, Geoffrey, and the Lady Constantia, or Constance, daughter and heiress of Conan, prince of that country. The extent of territory subject to the English king even in France was now greater than that which acknowledged the sway of Louis. If a line had been drawn from north to south only a few miles to the west of Paris, or nearly about the meridian of Boulogne, all to west of it would have been found to belong to Henry, from the English sea to the Spanish mountains; while the dominion of Louis on the other side of Gaul scarcely extended farther south than to the Loire, all the region beyond that river being in possession of the Earls of Toulouse. Henry, besides, almost as soon as he came to the throne, had recovered the three northern counties of England from the Scottish king, and even compelled him to do homage for the whole of Scotland to the south of the Forth; he soon after reduced Wales; and finally, in 1172, he effected the conquest of Ireland. The details of the valour and policy by which all this was done, of the patience, the foresight, the vigilance, the incessant exertion, the utter disregard of toil and danger, by which so many additions to his original inheritance were won and preserved, and by which all his states, old and new, were governed.

and the authority of law and order maintained in them, must be sought for in the records of history. Those were the days in which a king of England, to hold his place, really required to be, in all senses, about the ablest man in his dominions; if he was not of such heroic mould, he was almost sure to be thrown down, in that convulsive and stormy condition of things which had not yet subsided since the breaking up of the Roman empire had thrown Europe into a state of social chaos. Nothing, in fact, was fixed and stable; nowhere was the ground firm beneath men's feet; hardly any political arrangement or part of the mechanism of government was brought to such working order as to go on in any degree of itself or as a matter of course; all rights and claims were disputed and in conflict with one another; the boundaries of states, public and private inheritances, the provinces of the civil and ecclesiastical powers, the positions and privileges of the different classes of the community, all remained as yet in many respects unsettled and the subject of fierce contention both by argument and occasionally by force. Of all this confusion the king had to be, as far as possible, the ruler or moderator; and to hold his own besides, often in harness and the



inner man, a theme which his correspondent declares would, in his opinion, overtask the powers of the Mantuan (that is, Virgil) himself, or, as he afterwards still more strongly puts it, would be too much for either Maro or Tully. So far, however, he adds, as the subject is within his capacity, he will speak without envy or detraction. The letter has no date, but appears to have been written about the year 1180. He begins by remarking that, as it is related to the commendation of David that he was ruddy, so it might still be seen that King Henry had in earlier life been to a moderate degree of that complexion, although his colour was now somewhat gone, and his hair also touched with grey, from his advanced years.* His head was compact and

* The original is, "De David legitur, ad commendationem decoris ejus, quoniam rufus erat. Vos autem dominum regem subrufum hactenus extitisse noveritis, nisi quia colorem hunc venerabilis senectus et superveniens canities aliquantulum alteravit." The writer of an amusing article on 'Ancient Collections of Private Letters,' in the 'Quarterly Review' for April, 1837 (vol. lviii., pp. 414-464), renders the latter of these sentences thus:—"You are aware that his complexion and hair were a little red, but the approach of old age has altered this somewhat, and the hair is turning grey." Peter of Blois's Latin is not purer than that of the generality of the writers of his age; but he would not have used *noveritis* for *novistis*, as this translation would imply that he did. As to the sense in which he uses *rufus* and *subrufus*, there may be more doubt. In our English version of the Bible, David is described as ruddy, or of a florid complexion; but the word in the Vulgate is *rufus*, which, at least in middle-age Latin, may signify either red-faced or red-haired. King William II., however, was certainly called Rufus from the redness of his complexion—either because it was excessive, or perhaps to distinguish him from his father of the same name, who may have been a man of a dark complexion. On the other hand, the immediately subsequent mention of the beginning greyness (*superveniens canities*) may seem to favour the notion that Peter of Blois means here to speak of David as having been red-haired, and of Henry as having also had originally hair of a reddish colour. Dr. Lingard, however, we observe, un-

round-shaped—"spherical" is the rhetorical secretary's term—of fitting form and dimensions, according to the craniological philosophy of that day, "to be the seat of great wisdom, and the special sanctuary of deep counsel." Yet its size was perfectly proportioned to that of the sustaining neck and the general frame. The eyes also were round, and of soft expression—"dove-like and simple, or single" (in the Scriptural sense), are the terms employed—while he was unexcited; but under the emotion of anger or any other disturbing passion they flashed fire, and, as it were, lightened. His hair as yet showed no signs of becoming bald, but he prevented it from growing long by clipping. The general form of the face was quadrangular, like that of a lion. His nose was handsome and of suitable size, his chest broad, his arms muscular, his legs of the proper shape for a good rider,* his instep arched and high. Some deformity, however, had been produced in one of his feet by the nail of a toe having grown into the flesh; and his hands also, upon which he never wore a glove, except when he carried a falcon, gave token of his neglect of them by a certain clumsiness or grossness of appearance. He discarded all ornament alike in boots and bonnet, and all his



A characteristic of his father's race that he inherited was a strong tendency to corpulency; but he appears to have succeeded in keeping it down much more than his great-grandfather, the Conqueror, both by frequent fastings and by a life of movement and activity almost without example. His habit was scarcely ever to sit down, except while he was upon horseback or at his meals. Whether at mass or at council, or in whatever business he had to transact, he kept upon his feet from morning to night. When engaged in war, he would, if necessary, get over as much ground in one day as would take an ordinary commander four or five; and in this way he often got the better of his enemies by coming upon them when they did not look for him. Both in mounting his horse and in riding he had still preserved to this, the latter part of his life, all the alacrity of youth. During peace his favourite recreation was hunting or hawking; and bows, swords, arrows, and hunting tackle were almost constantly in his hands, except when he was reading and when he was at council, or occupied with affairs of state. But both business and books had their full share of his time. "For he does not," says his secretary, "lie still, like other kings, in his palace, but, journeying rapidly from province to province, inquires into the conduct of all his officers, especially judging those whom he has constituted the judges of others. No man is more sagacious in counsel, gifted with a greater flow and rush of elocution, more firm in dangers, less confident in prosperity, in adversity more constant. . . . As often as he can obtain a breathing time from the cares and anxieties of state, he spends it either in reading by himself, or in labouring to untie the knot of some difficult question in converse with a circle of learned clerks." Such literary assemblages and discussions, it is added, were held in the palace every day. In the rest of the letter Henry is warmly praised, though in general terms, for his moderation both in eating and drinking, his liberality and charity, his magnificence in the construction, on the one hand, of warlike defences and strongholds, on the other of palaces, lakes for fish.

and enclosures for wild animals, his kindness to the afflicted and affability to the poor, although he bore himself with a more lordly mien, it is subjoined, to the high and proud—always, with a certain resemblance to the divinity, endeavouring to depress the haughty and to raise up the depressed. A remarkable sentence follows, to the effect that, although in conformity with the custom of his kingdom, Henry exercised the most potent and effectual influence in elections (*in electionibus faciendis potissimas et potentissimas habeat partes*), yet he ever kept his hands pure and free from all venality. The elections here referred to are of course elections to bishoprics and other dignities or benefices in the church; for there were as yet no elections to civil offices in England. The steadiness of the king both in his likings and dislikings is also noted: if he had once loved any one, we are assured, he scarcely ever withdrew his regard; but he was as rarely known to admit to his familiarity or favour any one to whom he had once conceived an aversion.

Peter of Blois was an ecclesiastic; he held, among other preferments both in England and abroad, the archdeaconries both of London and Bath; and he was, like the generality of his profession, firmly attached to the



least as his evidence is positive, it may be safely received; and, in fact, it is confirmed in all the main particulars by other contemporary testimony, or by what Henry's history and conduct throughout his life show him to have been. It is true that other writers of his own age,—Giraldus Cambrensis, for instance, and Radalphus Niger—have delineated him in much darker colours; but their animosity is at least as evident and as strong as Peter of Blois's partiality; and they, and others who join them in the same strain, had individually as much reason to dislike Henry, as the archdeacon had to feel grateful and attached to him. His chief habitual defect appears to have been a tendency to violent explosions of rage. It is several times alluded to in the letters of Peter of Blois, from whose notices we learn that there were times when his majesty was not to be spoken to without considerable risk or great caution; but some of the exhibitions of his fury, as reported by other authorities, almost go beyond credibility. "When his wrath is fairly kindled," says Peter in one place, "he is a lion, or something yet more truculent." Giraldus Cambrensis tells us, that in the paroxysms of his passion, to quote his description as translated by Lingard, "his eyes were spotted with blood, his countenance seemed of flame, his tongue poured a torrent of abuse and imprecation, and his hands were employed to inflict vengeance on whatever came within his reach." On one occasion, we are told, the learned modern historian proceeds, referring to a letter of Thomas of Becket's, "When Humet, a favourite minister, had ventured to offer a plea in justification of the king of Scots, Henry, in a burst of passion, called Humet a traitor, threw down his cap, ungirt his sword, tore off his clothes, pulled the silk coverlet from his couch, and, unable to do more mischief, sate down, and gnawed the straw on the floor." Another time, it is added, on the same authority, "when a page presented a letter, the king attempted to tear out his eyes, nor did the boy escape without severe scars." These were doubtless demonstrations, supposing them *not exaggerated in the recital*, that had better have been

avoided ; but Henry had often that to contend with which was enough to make the wisest mad ; such outbreaks do not appear to have been frequent ; and, if the storm was sufficiently terrific while it lasted, it never lasted long. Nor were the rash and furious words usually followed by any corresponding ferocity of action. If Henry was passionate, he was certainly neither vindictive nor cruel. He may have put little restraint upon his passions in other respects as well as in giving way to excesses of rage, and he had probably his share in the general licentiousness of his time ; but he nowhere revolts us by showing either want of heart or any thing of coarseness or baseness of nature. It is probable, from all that history and tradition tell us of him, that there was always as much of sentiment as of sensuality in his licentiousness. His affection for his children, so long as they would suffer him to love them, seems to have been only too tender and indulgent ; and even after their repeated ingratitude he was always to the last ready to forgive them and to take them again to his heart. Ambitious he was, indisputably, and fond of power ; and as such, he was necessarily unscrupulous, and in pursuing his great and aspiring schemes, would at times break his way in



himself no match in diplomatic subtlety and stratagem for the king.

Henry's course of prosperity and success encountered no check, scarcely anything to disturb for a moment its even and onward flow, till after he had been between seven and eight years King of England. The portion of his reign from the middle of the year 1102 till the end of 1170 was mostly spent in a contest with one of his own subjects. The famous Thomas-à-Becket is said to have been born in London in 1117, and his legendary history, which may have some foundation in fact, makes him to have been the son of a citizen of English race, Gilbert Beck, Beckie, or Becket, by the daughter of a Saracen chief, who, when he had been taken prisoner in the east, whither he had followed his Norman lord to the holy wars, had fallen in love with him, contrived to release him from his captivity, and afterwards followed him to England, and found him out by inquiring wherever she went for London and Gilbert, the only two English words she knew. Thomas-à-Becket, like his father, attached himself to the Norman conquerors of his native land; his accomplishments and his obsequiousness had before the end of the reign of Stephen raised him to high favour with Theobald, the Archbishop of Canterbury, who induced him to take deacon's orders, and made him archdeacon of his metropolitan church; he was presented to Henry soon after his accession, and he was almost immediately appointed to the high office of chancellor of the kingdom, to which were speedily added the custody of the castle of Berkhamstead, the government of the Tower of London, and other preferments. He was now the most powerful subject in England, the man whom the king most delighted to honour, the familiar friend of his sovereign, and his constant and intimate associate in his private life, in his amusements and pleasures, as well as in the government of the realm. One of Becket's biographers tells us that after they had finished their serious affairs they would often play together *like two boys of the same age*. This continued till Henry crowned his long unvarying favour by making

Becket Archbishop of Canterbury, in May, 1162. From that moment his former friend, who had been indebted to him for so much, for all that he had and all that he was, became his rival and his enemy. Becket, indeed, was now in every respect a changed man. The gay, careless, luxurious layman (for as such he had been hitherto considered, notwithstanding his deacon's orders), the man of gallantry in every sense of the term (for he had also borne arms with distinguished reputation), was transformed at once into a cold, rigid, ascetic priest, hard and unimpressible as a man of stone. All that he had hitherto appeared, all that had seemed his nature and very self, was thrown off as if it had been a masque or disguise. It is unnecessary, however, to assume that Becket was insincere or dishonest either in the part he had made a show of sustaining till now, or in this sudden metamorphosis. It is rather proof of his inherent honesty, as well as of his force of character, that he would not seem to be what he was not, that he would not become a churchman in name without becoming one in reality. But, with this spirit, his new position brought him immediately into collision with Henry. A contest for supremacy between the church and the state was



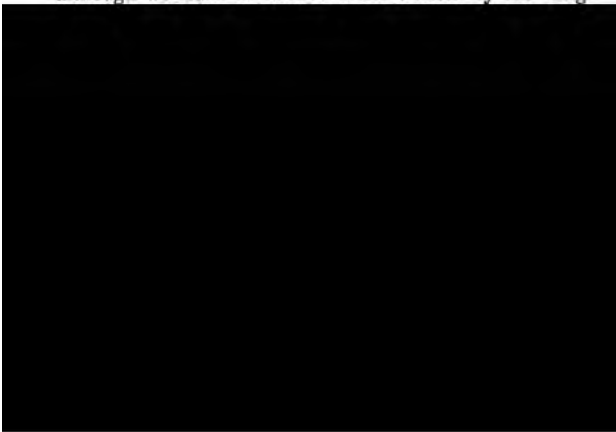
to be derived from itself, and even to be resumable at its will and pleasure, and maintaining the state to be everywhere thus the creation of the church, always resolutely refused to acquiesce, except occasionally in the way of compromise, in any arrangements which seemed to proceed upon an opposite idea or principle. Hence in the time of Rufus and Henry I. the contest between these kings and Archbishop Anselm about investitures, or the right of nominating to offices in the church, which the archbishop and the clergy held to be in the pope, but which the crown insisted upon retaining in its own hands. The first Henry had made good his claims in regard to this matter, and the other subjects of difference between the two interests had not since occasioned any serious disagreement. It is probable, however, that during the weak irregular government of Stephen the spiritual power had made some encroachments, if not in regard to investitures, in another direction. It was a still more important question upon which Henry now found himself opposed by Becket. This king was as little likely as any one of his predecessors to tolerate such of the pretensions of the clergy as would have either allied them as a body with a foreign power, or withdrawn them as individuals from subjection to the ordinary laws of the realm. It can hardly be doubted that so long as Becket held the office of chancellor (which he threw up as soon as he obtained the primacy) he had gone vigorously along with his royal master in discountenancing, and, where necessary, resisting, all such pretensions. Now, however, when Henry insisted that clerks, or ecclesiastical persons, when charged criminally, should be tried in the king's courts, and punished, if found guilty, in the same way with other subjects, the archbishop declared this to be a violation of the rights of the church, and set himself to oppose what he denounced as a sacrilegious innovation with all the powers of his office. Whether the system which Henry wished to enforce was in conformity with the ancient customs of the kingdom, as he maintained that it was, *may indeed be disputed.* It was manifestly, at any

rate, the only system compatible with the good government of the kingdom. The highest punishments that the ecclesiastical courts could inflict were flagellation, fine, imprisonment, and degradation; and the crime of murder itself, when committed by a clergyman, was usually expiated by a whipping when the case was left in their hands. On the other hand the archbishop probably also conceived himself to be bound in duty to make the stand he did for the claims set up by the church. There is no difficulty in understanding how the two parties should see the question differently from their opposite points of view; and they both gave by the whole course of their conduct all possible evidence of their sincerity. After other proceedings, Henry assembled a great council at Clarendon, in Wiltshire, at Christmas, 1163, and there demanded the assent of Becket and the other prelates to sixteen constitutions or articles, embodying what he maintained to be the ancient law or custom of the realm upon the matters in dispute. Becket, who had before refused to promise obedience to a much less comprehensive enactment, was now prevailed upon by the entreaties of his brethren to sign these constitutions; but he would not affix his seal to them. Even



weeks. Meanwhile, however, accounts had been brought to Henry in Normandy, that before he had embarked at Wissant, he had sent forward letters of excommunication or suspension against the archbishop of York, the bishop of London, and others of the prelates who had stood by the king in the late controversy. Several of these prelates instantly came themselves over to Rouen, and informed the king of this extraordinary proceeding. Furious with indignation Henry hastily exclaimed, "Of the dastards who eat my bread is there no one who will deliver me from this ungrateful, turbulent, incorrigible priest?" Four knights who heard the words, soon after suddenly and secretly started for England. On that same day, Saturday the 25th, the archbishop was present in his cathedral, at the performance of the solemnities of Christmas, and preached to a crowded auditory from the words "I am come unto you to die in the midst of you." After his sermon he excommunicated some individuals who, he said, had for the last seven years been busy in wronging and insulting himself and the church. On the Tuesday following, being the 28th, the four knights arrived from Normandy. On the afternoon of the next day, accompanied by twelve others, they made their way into the archbishop's house; he was prevailed upon by his friends to proceed to the church; thither, however, the conspirators followed him; they demanded that he should absolve the excommunicated bishops, but, unbending to the last, he bid defiance to their menaces; upon which he was struck down by repeated blows at the foot of the altar. Henry was still keeping his Christmas festival at Bure, in Normandy, when tidings of the event were brought to him. There can be no reasonable doubt that he was profoundly affected with horror at the crime that had been committed almost in his name, as well as alarmed for the consequences. He shut himself up in his closet for three days, admitting no one and refusing all nourishment. It was not till after a negotiation of two years that he obtained from the Court of Rome, a full absolution, on *appearing in the cathedral of Avranches*, and there

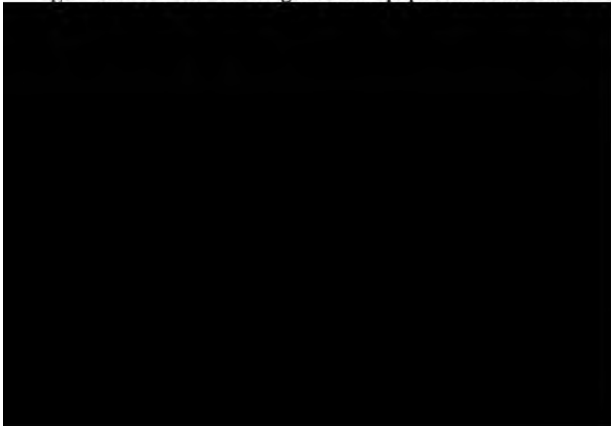
licly taking his solemn oath on the Gospels, that he was innocent of the murder of the archbishop both in word and deed. Meanwhile, he had acquired new power and glory by the conquest of Ireland; circumstances were also changed in other respects; new objects had in part withdrawn him from the controversy with the church which had occupied him almost to the exclusion of everything else, for the preceding six or seven years; and now that Becket was removed the pretensions of the clergy, although they may have remained the same in words, had actually become something very different and much less formidable. Henry therefore now also engaged, that if any customs hostile to the liberties of the ecclesiastical order had been introduced into his kingdom since his accession, they should be abolished. And four years after, in a great council held at Northampton, the constitutions of Clarendon were so far repealed as that, among other concessions of less moment, clergymen were exempted from being personally arraigned before a secular judge for any crime, unless it were against the forest laws, or regarded a lay fee for which they owed service to a lay lord. But, although we learn this from a letter written by the king



the existence of the Archbishop of Canterbury. It is certain, indeed, that Becket resented what had been done as an invasion of the privileges of his see, and this was the principal ground on which he had applied for, and obtained from the pope, the letters of excommunication against the Archbishop of York and the other prelates who had assisted him at the coronation, his display and threatened employment of which had probably been the occasion of his murder. But all the circumstances seem to show that Henry was principally actuated by affection for his son, and a desire to place him in a position of honour and of splendour, although his age, only fourteen, of course precluded him from being as yet entrusted with any share in the government. The young prince, however, or, as he was now called, the young king, or sometimes Henry III., made no creditable return, whether it was fondness or policy that had chiefly moved his father thus to advance him. He appears to have been rather weak than ill-disposed; his new title probably made him giddy; and, easily led in any direction, he was much more likely, in his position, to be led wrong than right. All cordiality between Henry and Queen Eleanor had long been at an end; his infidelities and her jealous temper had completely divided and alienated them; and Eleanor's natural resource was to endeavour to gain over her sons to make common cause with her against their father. About the end of the year 1172, the young king Henry, who was married to the daughter of the French king, Louis VII., and had just been crowned a second time along with his wife, startled his father by a sudden demand, that he should immediately resign to him either the dukedom of Normandy or the sovereignty of England. At this time the boy was not yet sixteen, and his father was himself still under forty. The preposterous proposal is believed to have been prompted by Queen Eleanor and King Louis; from the day on which it was made, and of course instantly rejected, the young king, we are told, spoke not *one word more of peace to his father*; a few months after, while he was with his father at Chinon, on their way

back to Normandy from Limoges, he arose during the night and secretly withdrew himself to the court of his father-in-law ; his flight was speedily followed by that of his two younger brothers Richard and Geoffrey, upon the former of whom their father had conferred the earldom of Poitiers, upon the latter the dukedom of Bretagne, and who had been left with their mother in Guienne ; and lastly their mother set out to join her sons, but, being caught as she travelled in man's attire, was by her husband's orders put into immediate confinement, nor was she afterwards released, except once for a short space, while Henry lived.

The war that followed between Henry and his sons, aided by King Louis, did not last long. Attacked as he was on every side at once—in Brittany, in Normandy, in Anjou, in Guienne, in England ; from France, from Toulouse, from Scotland—the vigour of the old king, as he was called, carried everything before it ; and a peace and reconciliation were arranged after a few months. It was during this contest that Henry performed his famous penance at the tomb of Becket. The desire to see, in the quarrel between Becket and Henry, a struggle between the old Anglo-Saxon population and their



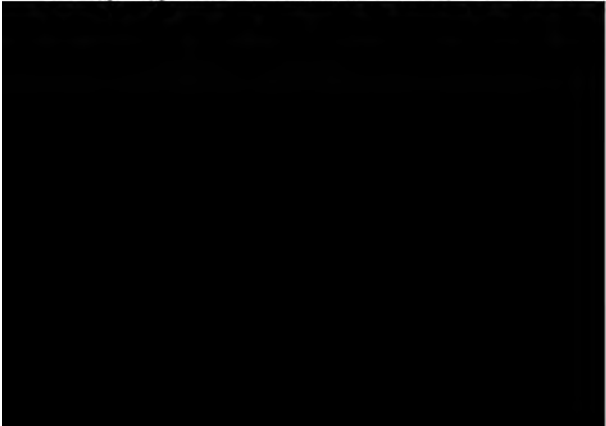
Conquest, would both be led to take the greater interest in the dispute, and may have been benefited by it. Their devotional and superstitious feelings also were, no doubt, strongly excited by many of the proceedings to which the clergy resorted; and we may well conceive that they would be transported to a state of the highest enthusiasm, first, by horror at the barbarous and sacrilegious murder of Becket, and afterwards, by the miracles with which the kingdom resounded as having been performed at his tomb. But these were feelings which there is every reason to believe were shared in an equal degree by the generality of their Norman masters. The king himself was probably by no means exempt from them. With all the licence that he allowed himself in some respects, he was neither without the piety nor above the superstition of his age; and the circumstances in which he now stood, with troubles gathering around him, and the consciousness pressing upon him that he had, by his hasty and passionate words, materially contributed to Becket's death, were very likely to awaken his devotion and penitence. It seems impossible to regard him as merely acting a part, assuming the outward appearance of a reverence and contrition which he did not feel, in this penitential pilgrimage, when the whole proceeding and his demeanour throughout are fairly considered. He set sail from Barfleur early on the morning of the 8th of July, 1174. It blew fresh at the time, and, the gale increasing after the ship had got under way, some apprehension began to be felt, upon which Henry, coming forward so as to be seen by all, exclaimed, with eyes uplifted to heaven, "If what I have in my mind be for the peace of my clergy and my people, if God have determined to restore such peace by my arrival, then may he in his mercy bring me safe into port; but, if he have resolved still further to scourge my kingdom in his wrath, may it never be given me again to set my foot on land." He landed at Southampton on the morning of the 10th, and instantly getting on horseback, set out for Canterbury, *pursuing his journey all night, and taking no other sustenance than a little bread and water.* He

came within sight of the metropolitan church at the dawn of the next day, Friday the 11th, and then dismounting, and throwing off both his silk apparel and his boots, he walked in the garb of a pilgrim, and barefoot, over the flinty road for the three remaining miles of the way. When he entered the city, his footsteps were observed to leave their marks in blood upon the pavement. Proceeding forthwith to the cathedral, he entered it along with the thronging inhabitants of the city, collected by the ringing of the bells, and, prostrating himself with his face to the ground, wept and sobbed aloud, while the Bishop of London announced from the pulpit that Henry King of England was here come to invoke God and the holy martyr for the salvation of his soul; to protest that he never either ordered or desired the death of the martyr; and to submit his naked flesh to be scourged for the hasty and imprudent words uttered by him, by which the murderers might pretend that they had been excited to the act. After this the king descended to the crypt where the archbishop's body was interred, and there, stripping off his clothes and kneeling down on the tombstone, he submitted his bare back to be scourged with a knotted cord by all the bishops and monks that were



For some years from this time Henry was left at peace, although in 1179 his two eldest sons, Henry and Richard, took arms against each other, and Poitou and Guienne were for a time disturbed and devastated by their dissension. But in 1183 war again broke out between the sons and the father. Sometimes he was opposed to one, sometimes to two of them; sometimes to Henry, Richard, and Geoffrey, all at once. Both the two elder were soon cut off; Henry, by fever, on the 11th of June, at Chateau Martel, near Limoges; Geoffrey, early in 1185, by being thrown from his horse and trampled to death, in a tournament at the court of the new French king Philip II. (Augustus), whose aid he had sought against his father. Richard, however, continued in rebellion, or rather, repeatedly defeated and forgiven, still again and again took up arms, whenever a favourable moment seemed to present itself. He had a story that he was fond of relating, about a countess of Anjou, one of his ancestry, who never went to church, and at last, on being taken there one day by force, flew out of the window, on the elevation of the host, and was never more seen; and he used to ask if it was to be wondered at that, sprung from such a stock, the household to which he belonged should be divided against itself. "What comes from the devil," said he, "to the devil must return." Mutual hatred, he professed to believe, was the doom of his family—the fatal inheritance which none of them would ever renounce. At last, at a conference held at La Ferté Bernard, in Maine, on the 18th of November, 1188, Richard, on his father's refusal to comply with his demands, turned round in indignation to the French king, who stood by, and, having ungirt his sword and fallen upon his knees, offered his homage to Philip, in Henry's presence, for all the territories that the latter held in France. Philip accepted his allegiance, and the war was renewed as soon as the term of the truce expired. By this time Henry's spirits, as well as his health, seem to have been broken; his operations in the field were languid and ineffective, and he was soon reduced to the necessity of suing for peace. The matter

in regard to which Richard and Philip had pretended to feel most keenly was Henry's detention of Alice, the sister of the French king, who many years before had been affianced to Richard, and his refusal to allow their marriage to take place. He professed to wish to marry her to his youngest son John ; but it was suspected that he loved the young and beautiful princess himself, and that her heart, too, was his. Now, however, he offered to resign everything, Alice included : he proposed that she should, in the meantime, be placed in such custody as might be thought fittest, and delivered either to Richard or Philip, on their return from their projected expedition to the Holy Land. The French princess, we may mention, after all was not married to Richard. Though he had demanded her so clamorously before, when he became king he refused to have her ; and she eventually became the wife of William Earl of Aumale and Ponthieu, by whom she had a daughter, who married Ferdinand III. King of Castile, and was the mother of Eleanor, the queen of our Edward I. Henry and Philip met to arrange a peace on the 28th of June, 1189, on a plain between Tours and Azay-sur-Cher. Henry agreed to everything that was demanded of him. He became



convulsively half up in the bed, and, with a wild look, asked if it was true that this son, whom he had so loved and trusted, for whom he had done and suffered so much, had actually deserted him. He was assured that so it was. He then fell back, and, turning his face to the wall, said, "Well, then! henceforth let all things go as they may; I care nothing more about myself or the world." A few days after he was removed to the Castle of Chinon, and there, on the 6th of July, he breathed his last. Geoffrey, his son by Rosamund Clifford, was with him to the end.



SOME part of this biography will make the rest more
intelligible if made a preliminary explanation. Before



ROGER BACON

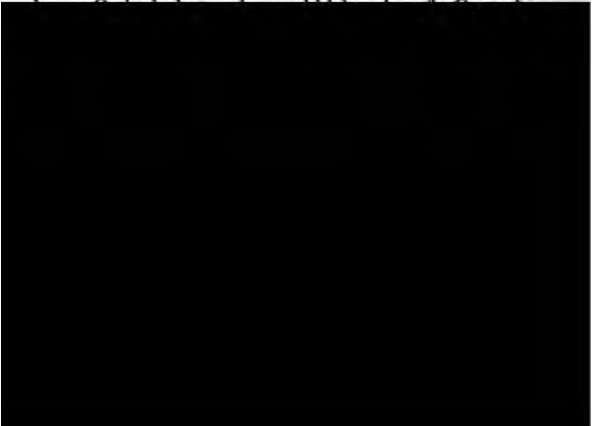




ROGER BACON

science; and the learned monk, searching for the philosopher's stone in his laboratory, aided only by infernal spirits, was substituted for the sagacious advocate of reform in education, reading, and reasoning; and—what was equally rare—the real inquirer into the phenomena of nature.

Roger Bacon died in 1292, in about the seventy-eighth year of his age, which places his birth near the year 1214; roughly speaking, he lived from the time of the Interdict in the reign of John, to the beginning of the interference with Scotland in that of Edward I. His age is that of Cardinal Cusa, Thomas à Kempis, Matthew Paris, Albertus Magnus, Raymond Lully, Sacrobosco, &c., to whom we add, as they are sometimes confounded with him, and not for their own note, two theologians, Robert Bacon and John Bacon (died about 1346.) The former was a priest of the thirteenth century, whom it would be hardly necessary to notice but for the fact that some of our historians have made him the brother of Roger Bacon, and the two have been often confounded. He is stated to have studied successively at Oxford and Paris; and in 1233, when his friend and teacher, Edmund Rich, was removed from the treasurership of Salis-



subject of this article, preached before the king on the same occasion. Robert Bacon joined the order of preaching friars in his old age, and died in 1248, whence the story (certainly false) that Roger died in that year. ('Biogr. Britann. ;' Tanner, 'Biblioth. Britan. Hibern. ;' Wood, 'Hist. et Ant. Oxon.')

Roger Bacon was born near Ilchester, in Somersetshire, of a respectable family. He was educated at Oxford, and, according to the usual custom of his day, proceeded to Paris, which was then the first university in the world. The course of study in vogue, however unfavourable to independence of thought, did not give so great a preponderance to the works of Aristotle as was afterwards the case. The theology of the day had set strongly against philosophy of every species. In 1209 a council at Paris condemned and burnt, if not the works of Aristotle, at least the mutilated and interpolated translations from the Arabic which then existed. But when, towards the middle of the century, Latin versions from the Greek began to appear, and the philosophy contained in them to be warmly advocated by the new orders of Franciscans and Dominicans, and particularly by Albertus Magnus (died 1282), the reputation of Aristotle advanced so rapidly, that he had gained the exclusive title of "the Philosopher" by the time Roger Bacon wrote his 'Opus Majus.' But Bacon in no sense became an Aristotelian, except in that which comprehends all who are acquainted with the opinions and methods of the Greek philosopher. Better versed in the original than most of his contemporaries, he freely criticises all he meets with (especially the merit of the translations, which he says he would burn, if he could), and is himself an early and sufficient proof that the absurdities of his successors ought not to be called "Aristotelian," any more than Aristotle himself "the Philosopher." Bacon could read Aristotle without danger of falling into idolatry: his antagonists could have erected a system of verbal disputes upon the Principia of Newton, if they had possessed it.

After his return to Oxford, with a doctor's degree

granted at Paris, which was immediately also confirmed by the former university, he took the vows of a Franciscan in a convent possessed by that order at Oxford, on the persuasion, it is said, of Robert Greathead or Gros-tête, bishop of Lincoln, of whom we shall presently speak. It has been conjectured that he had already done so before his return to Oxford, but this appears to have arisen from his having been known to have resided in a Franciscan convent while at Paris. From the time of his return, which is stated to have been A.D. 1240, he applied himself closely to the study of languages, as well as to experimental philosophy. In spite of the vow of poverty, he does not appear to have wanted means, for he says himself that in twenty years he spent 2000 livres (French) in books and instruments; a very large sum in those days.

The vow of the Franciscans was poverty, manual labour, and study; but the first two were soon abandoned. On this subject we notice a writing of Bacon, of which (except in Dr. Jobb's list) we can find only one casual notice (in Vossius, 'De Hist. Lat.' art. "Bacon.") It is said that he answered a work of St. Bonaventure, general of his order, which treated of the above-men-



more acute minds, who saw that Roger Bacon was in reality endeavouring to evoke a spirit whose influence would upset the power they had acquired over the thoughts of men, and allow them to read and reflect, without fear of excommunication, or the necessity of inquiring what Council had authorized the book. Not that we mean to charge those minds in every instance with desiring such power for their own private ends: there has always been honest belief in the wickedness of knowledge, and it is not extinct in our own day. The following detached passages of the 'Opus Majus' no doubt contain opinions which its author was in the habit of expressing:—

"Most students have no worthy exercise for their heads, and therefore languish and stupefy upon bad translations, which lose them both time and money. Appearances alone rule them, and they care not what they know, but what they are thought to know by a senseless multitude.—There are four principal stumbling-blocks in the way of arriving at knowledge—authority, habit, appearances as they present themselves to the vulgar eye, and concealment of ignorance combined with ostentation of knowledge.—Even if the first three could be got over by some great effort of reason, the fourth remains ready.—Men presume to teach before they have learnt, and fall into so many errors, that the idle think themselves happy in comparison; and hence both in science and in common life we see a thousand falsehoods for one truth.—And this being the case, we must not stick to what we hear and read, but must examine most strictly the opinions of our ancestors, that we may add what is lacking, and correct what is erroneous, but with all modesty and allowance.—We must, with all our strength, prefer reason to custom, and the opinions of the wise and good to the perceptions of the vulgar: and we must not use the triple argument; that is to say, this has been laid down, this has been usual, this has been common, therefore it is to be held by. For the very opposite conclusion does much better follow from the premises. And though the whole world be possessed by

these causes of error, let us freely hear opinions contrary to established usage."

As might be supposed, Roger Bacon cultivated the acquaintance of men who held sentiments similar to the above, which could not please his brethren. Among them we have mentioned Grostête, bishop of Lincoln, who usually resided at Oxford. This prelate, who was a good mathematician, and a resolute opponent of undue interference on the part of the see of Rome (*terrificus papæ redargutor*, says Camden), had opposed Innocent IV., who attempted to appoint his nephew, a boy, to a prebend at Lincoln. On being excommunicated, Grostête appealed from the tribunal of Rome to that of Christ; and so prevalent was the opinion of his antipathy to the pope, that a story is gravely told by Knyghton (cited by Blount, 'Censura,' &c.), that the Bishop of Lincoln, after his death, appeared to Innocent in a dream, and exclaiming "*Surge, miser, veni in judicium!*" actually stabbed his Holiness, who was found dead next morning. It is needless to say that Innocent IV. died a natural death, and useless to speculate upon the means by which such a circumstance as the preceding, if true, could come to be known. But perhaps the memory of



After his election as head of the Church, Bacon, conceiving that there would be no danger nor impropriety in disobeying his immediate superiors at the command of the pope, wrote to him, stating that he was now ready to send him whatever he wished for. The answer was a repetition of the former request; and Bacon accordingly drew up the 'Opus Majus,' of which it may be presumed he had the materials ready. It appears that he had mentioned the circumstances in which he stood; for Clement's answer requires him to send the work with haste, any command of his superiors or constitution of his order notwithstanding, and also to point out, with all secrecy, how the danger mentioned by him might be avoided. The book was sent in the year 1267, by the hands of John of London, a pupil of whom he speaks highly, and who has usually obtained some notice from the very great praise which Bacon in one place appears to give him, when he says that he only knows two good mathematicians, one of whom he calls John of London. But from some other circumstances Dr. Jebb concludes, with great probability, that this John was not the pupil above mentioned, but John Peccan, a London Franciscan, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, who was well known as a mathematician, and whose treatise on Optics, '*Perspectivæ communis libri tres*,' was printed at least six times between 1542 and 1627, at Nuremberg, Venice, Paris, and Cologne.

Before the 'Opus Majus,' Bacon, according to his own account, had written nothing except a few slight treatises, "*capitula quædam*." Before he took the vows he wrote nothing whatever; and afterwards, as he says to Clement, he would have composed many books for his brother and his friends, but when he despaired of ever being able to communicate them, he neglected to write.

With the 'Opus Majus' he sent also two other works, the 'Opus Minus' and the 'Opus Tertium,' the second a sort of abstract of the first, and the third a supplement to it. *These exist in manuscript in the Cottonian Library, but have not been printed.* It appears that,

Library at Oxford, and a host of others at home and abroad which we cannot specify. The Dublin manuscript is the only entire one with which Dr. Jebb was acquainted. It is a folio of 249 leaves, beautifully written on thick paper, with a good margin, and in double columns. It is not dated, but from the character of the writing it is judged to be of the reign of Henry VIII., or perhaps the early part of that of Elizabeth. The geometrical figures are neatly drawn in the margin. Pope Clement's letters are in the Vatican Library.

It only remains for us to take a general view of the character of Roger Bacon's writings, and of the contents of the 'Opus Majus.' It is surprising how little is known of this work, the only one in print to which we can appeal, if we would show that philosophy was successfully cultivated in an English university during the thirteenth century. It is of course in Latin, but in Latin of so simple a character, that we know of none in the middle ages more easy to read : and it forms a brilliant exception to the stiff and barbarous style of that and succeeding times. We think we see the thoughts of the author untranslated, though the idiom is often that of an Anglo-Norman ; by which we mean that we frequently find Latin words



gress of philosophy, he would not, under such
nents as lay in his way, proceed with his under-
for the whole church of God, however much it
ntreat or insist. His zeal for Christianity, in its
r Western form, breaks out in every page; and all
is considered with direct reference to theology,
otherwise. But at the same time, to the credit
principles, considering the book-burning, heretic-
age in which he lived, there is not a word of any
orce except that of persuasion. He takes care to
th authority and reason for every proposition that
ances: perhaps, indeed, he might have experi-
forbearance at the hand of those who were his
tors, had he not so clearly made out prophets,
s, and fathers to have been partakers of his opi-

"But let not your Serenity imagine," he says,
I intend to excite the *clemency* of your Holiness,
x that the papal majesty should employ force
weak authors and the multitude, or that my un-
self should raise any stumbling-block to study."

the whole scope of the first part of the work is
e, from authority and from reason, that philoso-
d Christianity cannot disagree; a sentiment alto-
of his own revival, in an age in which all philoso-
and mathematicians in particular, were considered
est of dubious orthodoxy.

reasoning of Bacon is generally directly depend-
on his premises, which, though often wrong,

lead him to the prevailing extreme of absurdity.
his astrology and alchemy, those two great blots
his character, as they are usually called, are, when
red by the side of a later age, harmless modifi-
s, irrational only because unproved, and neither
ible nor unworthy of the investigation of a philo-
sophy, in the absence of preceding experiments. His
gy is *physical*. "With regard to human affairs,
athematicians do not presume to make certain, but
er how the body is altered by the heavens, and
dy being altered, the mind is excited to public
irate acts, free will existing all the same." An

age which is divided upon the question of the effect of the moon upon lunatics, and of which the philosophers have collected no facts decisive against many alleged effects of the same planet upon plants, can ask no more of a philosopher of the thirteenth century than that he should not be too positive. The fame of Leibnitz has not suffered from the *pre-established harmony* one half as much as that of Bacon from his astrology and alchemy, which were believed in to a much greater extent by many of the learned of his time, and the united effect of which would seem to us sense and logic, compared with the metaphysical folly, all his own, of the eminent philosopher just cited.

This planetary influence appears to have been firmly believed in by Bacon, and in particular the effect of the constellations on the several parts of the human body. Perhaps he was rather prejudiced in favour of a doctrine which was condemned by the same men who thought mathematics and philosophy savoured of heresy. And it must be remembered that the pretended science was almost universally allowed existence, even by those who considered its use unlawful; nor can we infer that the church disbelieved it, because that body discouraged it,

tion to form of Bacon as a philosopher, until we saw much he rejected, as well as how much he

These remarks apply particularly to his alchemy. He does not say he had made gold himself, but he had asserted themselves to have made it; and out of the drink by which men had lived hungry is a relation taken from another. Voltaire's Philosophical Dictionary, has overlooked this, and has much to say in consequence. It was, no very strange matter that Bacon, who (if the 'Alchemists' be really his, of which, from the doubt) believed with many others that sulphur and mercury were the first principles of all bodies, endeavour to compound gold, or should give credit to assertions of those who professed to have done so: there is not in Bacon's alchemy any direction of prayers, fasting, or planetary hours.

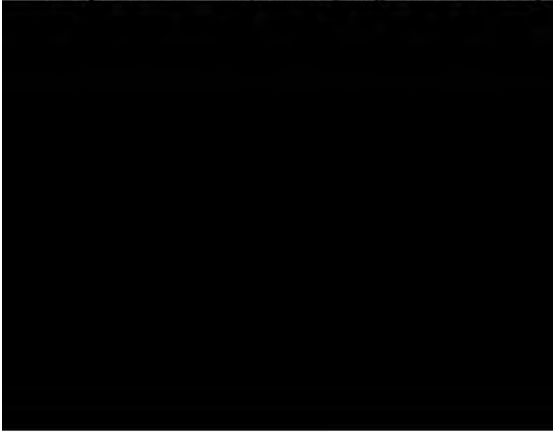
Great points by which Bacon is known are his knowledge of gunpowder and of the telescope. As to the former, it is not at all clear that what gunpowder is intended, though some detonating of which saltpetre is an ingredient, is spoken of only known. The passage is as follows:—

Some things disturb the ear so much, that if they be to happen suddenly by night, and with sufficient force, no city or army could bear them. No noise could compare with them. Some things strike the sight, so that the flashes of the clouds are in comparison less disturbing; works similar to the idea of a thunder-bolt is thought to have performed in the camp of the Medianites. And an instance we take from a popular amusement, which exists in many parts of the world, that with an instrument as large as the hammer, by the violence of the salt called saltpetre, a horrible noise is made by the rupture of so thin a thing as a bit of parchment, that it is thought to resemble the sound of thunder, and the flash is stronger than the lightning."—*Opus Majus*, p. 474.

These are passages in the work 'De Secretis Operibus' (cited by Hutton, 'Dictionary,' article "Gun-

powder"), which expressly mention sulphur, charcoal and saltpetre as ingredients. But, independently of the claim of the Chinese and Indians, there is an author, Marcus Græcus, whose work, 'Liber Ignium' (now existing only in Latin translations from the Greek), is cited by Dr. Jebb from a manuscript in the possession of Isaac Mead, and who appears to have been considered by him as older than Bacon. Dr. Hutton, into whose hands Isaac Mead's manuscripts passed, found this writer mentioned by an Arabic physician of the ninth century. Græcus gives the receipt for gunpowder, namely, one part sulphur, two of willow-charcoal, and six of saltpetre. Two manuscript copies of Græcus were also found in the Royal Library of Paris. But it does not appear that Græcus was known for a long time after Bacon: even Tartaglia knew nothing of him; for he says, in his work on Artillery, that the oldest writers known to him use equal parts of the three ingredients.

With regard to the telescope, it must be admitted that Bacon had *conceived* the instrument, though there is no proof that he carried his conception into practice, or *invented* it. His words are these:—"We can so shape transparent substances, and so arrange them with respect



That the remarks of Bacon are derived from reflection and imagination only, is further apparent from his asserting that a small army could be made to appear very large, and that the sun and moon could be made to descend, to all appearance, down below, and stand over the head of the enemy. At the same time it is worth notice, that these ideas of Bacon did, in after times, produce either the telescope, or some modification of it, consisting in the magnifying of images produced by reflection, and that before the date either of Jansen or Galileo. Thomas Digges, son of Leonard Digges, in his 'Stratiorikos,' London, 1590, page 359 (second edition, the first being 1579), thus speaks of what his father had done, in the presence, as he asserts, of numerous living eye-witnesses :—

"And such was his Felicitie and happie successe, not only in these conclusions, but also in y^e Optikes and Catoptikes, that he was able by Perspective Glasses, duely scituate upon conuenient angles, in such sort to discover every particularitie of the country round about, wheresoeuer the Sunne beames might pearse: as sithence Archimedes (Bakon of Oxford onely excepted) I have not read of any in action enen able by means natural to perform the like. Which partly grew by the aid he had by one old written book of the same Bakon's Experiments, that by strange aduventure, or rather Destinie, came to his hands, though chiefly by conioyning continuall laborious Practise with his Mathematicall Studies."

And the same Thomas Digges, in his 'Pantometria,' London, 1571, Preface (republished in 1591), had previously given the same story, with more detail, omitting, however, all mention of Bacon. He says that his father—"sundrie times hath by proportionall Glasses duely situate in conuenient angles, not onely discovered things farre off, read letters, numbred peeces of money with the very coyne and superscription thereof, cast by some of his freends of purpose upon Downes in open Fields, but also seuen miles off declared what hath beene dooene at that instant in priuate places. There are yet living diuerse (of these his dooings) *Oculati Testes*."

The question has been agitated whether the invention of spectacles is due to Bacon, or whether they had been introduced just before he wrote. He certainly describes them, and explains why a plane convex glass magnifies. But he seems to us to speak of them as already in use. "Hence this instrument is useful to old persons and those who have weak eyes."

The 'Opus Majus' begins with a book on the necessity of advancing knowledge, and a dissertation on the use of philosophy in theology. It is followed by books on the utility of grammar and mathematics; in the latter of which he runs through the various sciences of astronomy, chronology, geography, and music. The account of the inhabited world is long and curious, and though frequently based on that of Ptolemy, or the writings of Pliny, contains many new facts from travellers of his own and preceding times. His account of the defects in the calendar was variously cited in the discussions which took place on the subject two centuries after. The remainder of the work consists of a treatise on optics and on experimental philosophy, insisting on the peculiar advantages of the latter. The explanation of the phenomena of the rainbow, though very imperfect,



owing amusing extract will show the sort of which Roger Bacon acquired :—

Friar Bacon made a brazen head to speak, by he would have walled England about with

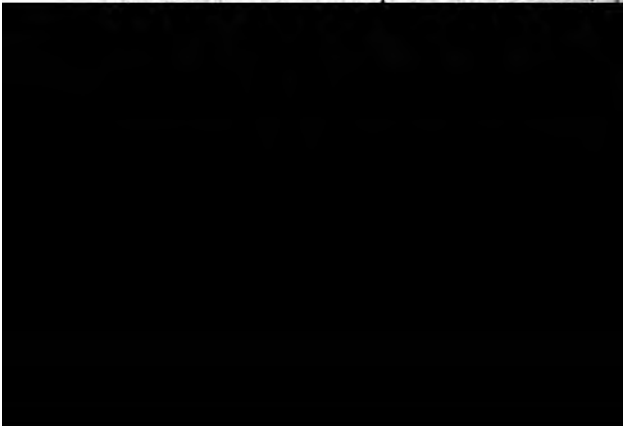
Bacon reading one day of the many conquests, bethought himself how he might keep it from the like conquests, and to make himself easier to all posterities. This (after great mind could be no way so well done as one ; to make a head of brass, and if he could make it speak (and hear it when it speaks) then he was able to wall all England about with brass. He proposed he got one Friar Bungey to assist him, a great scholar and a magician (but not to be compared to Friar Bacon), these two, with great pains, made a head of brass that in the inward parts thereof contained all things like as in a natural man's head : this head they were as far from perfection of the work as before, for they knew not how to give those things they had made motion, without which it was that it should speak. Many books they read, but could not find out any hope of what they sought, at last they concluded to raise a spirit, and to know that which they could not attain to by their own power. To do this they prepared all things ready, one evening to a wood thereby, and, after ceremonies used, they spake the words of conjuration, the devil straight obeyed, and appeared asking what they would. Know, said Friar Bacon, that we have made an artificial head of brass, which would have to speak, to the furtherance of what we have raised thee, and, being raised, we will hear thee, unless thou tell to us the way and manner to make this head to speak. The devil told him that he was not that power of himself. Beginner of lies, Bacon, I know that thou dost dissemble, and will bring it us quickly, or else we will here bind thee *striking our pleasures*. At these threatenings he consented to do it, and told them, that with a

continual fume of the six hottest simples it should have motion, and in one month's space speak, the time of the month or day he knew not: also he told them, that if they heard it not before it had done speaking all their labour should be lost; they, being satisfied, licensed the spirit for to depart.

"Then went these two learned friars home again, and prepared the simples ready, and made the fumes, and with continual watching attended when this brazen head would speak. Thus watched they for three weeks without any rest, so that they were so weary and sleepy that they could not any longer refrain from rest. Then called Friar Bacon his man Miles, and told him that it was not unknown to him what pains Friar Bungey and himself had taken for three weeks' space, only to make and to hear the brazen head speak, which, if they did not, then had they lost all their labour, and all England had a great loss thereby: therefore he intreated Miles that he would watch whilst that they slept, and call them if the head speak."

Miles then begins his watch, and keeps himself from sleeping by merrily singing.

"After some noise the head spake these two words,



Miles to know how this came. Miles, half dead with fear, said that it fell down of itself, and that, with the noise and fire that followed, he was almost frightened out of his wits. Friar Bacon asked if he did not speak? Yes, quoth Miles, it spake, but to no purpose; I'll have a parrot speak better in that time that you have been teaching this brazen head. Out on thee, villain, said Friar Bacon, thou hast undone us both: hadst thou but called us when it did speak, all England had been walled round about with brass, to its glory and our eternal fames. What were the words it spake? Very few, said Miles; and those were none of the wisest that I have heard, neither. First he said, Time is. Hadst thou called us then, said Friar Bacon, we had been made for ever. Then, said Miles, half an hour after it spake again, and said, Time was. And wouldst thou not call us then? said Bungey. Alas, said Miles, I thought he would have told me some long tale, and then I purposed to have called you: then after an hour after he cried, Time is past, and made such a noise that he hath waked you himself, methinks. At this Friar Bacon was in such a rage that he would have beaten his man, but he was restrained by Bungey; but, nevertheless, for his punishment he, with his art, struck him dumb for one whole month's space. Thus the great work of these learned friars was overthrown, to their great griefs, by this simple fellow."—From 'The Famous Historie of Fryer Bacon.'





EDWARD III



from the Norman Conquest it may be said to have held good, with but slight exception, for nearly four centuries and through a succession of more than a dozen sovereigns. From the Conqueror to Henry IV. inclusive, the only interruption to such a regular alternation of the good and the bad, or at least of the strong and the weak, had been the coming together of Henry II. and his son Richard I., followed by that of John and his son Henry III. Even here there was the balance of the two valiant kings against the two of less prowess and wisdom.

At any rate there can be no question about the old notion having proved true in the case of the first and second Edwards; for, as Froissart says, "the good King Edward the First was right valiant, sage, wise, and hardy, adventurous and fortunate in all feats of war, and had much ado against the Scots, and conquered them three or four times; for the Scots could never have victory nor endure against him: and after his decease his son of his first wife was crowned king and called Edward the Second, who resembled nothing to his father in wit nor in prowess, but governed and kept his realm right wildly, and ruled himself by sinister counsel of certain persons, whereby at length he had no profit nor laud; for, anon after he was crowned, Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, who had often before given much ado to the said good King Edward the First, conquered again all Scotland, and brent and wasted a great part of the realm of England, a four or five days' journey within the realm, at two times, and discomfited the king and all the barons of England at a place in Scotland called Stirling, by battle arranged the day of St. John Baptist, in the year of our Lord 1314." And many other were the disasters and disgraces of Edward of Carnarvon's unhappy twenty years' reign, besides the loss of Scotland and the defeat and rout of Bannockburn.

On the 24th of January, 1308, about six months after his accession, Edward II. was married at Boulogne to Isabella, daughter of the French king, Philip IV. (surnamed le Bel, or the Fair); five kings in all, and four queens, *including the bride and bridegroom*, being

present at the ceremony. Edward was in his twenty-fourth year; the French princess was only in her thirteenth, but was already famous as the greatest beauty in Europe. "One of the fairest ladies of the world," Froissart calls her. In tradition and history, however, she lives as little less than a beautiful demon. Never has beauty, never has a marriage been more fatal than hers was to herself, to her husband, to both their native lands. The radiant girl who now gave Edward her hand was in the end to deprive him of his crown and of his life; a long imprisonment of eight and twenty years was to be the dower of her own widowhood; and from their union was to spring a quarrel between their two countries, which it was to take nearly a century of bloodshed and desolation to fight out:—

- "Mark the year, and mark the night,
When Severn shall re-echo with affright
The shrieks of death through Berkeley's roofs that ring;
Shrieks of an agonizing king!
She-wolf of France, with unrelenting fangs,
That tear'st the bowels of thy mangled mate,
From thee be born who o'er thy country hangs
The scourge of heaven!
- 

he remained abroad till the 24th of September of the next year, when he landed at Orwell in Suffolk with his mother, come, with her paramour Mortimer, to make open war upon her husband. The last instrument issued in the name of Edward II. was on the 20th of January, 1327 ; on the next day he is understood to have formally resigned his crown in the castle of Kenilworth to commissioners sent to him by the parliament ; his son was proclaimed as Edward the Third on Saturday the 24th. His reign, however, for some reason which is not known, was reckoned as having commenced on the 25th. His father is supposed to have been murdered in his dungeon in Berkeley Castle on the 21st of September.

The new king, a boy of fourteen when he was thus raised to the throne, was of course at first king only in name, and all power and authority were in the hands of his mother and Mortimer. He was marvellously alert, however, in assuming manhood in various ways. If he was not allowed any share in the government of the country, he was thought already old enough both to rule an army and to rule a wife. Within a few months after his accession, he put himself at the head of a great force, and went forth to fight the Scots ; and in the beginning of the next year he was married at York to Philippa, the second daughter of William Count of Hainault, to whom he had been contracted by his mother shortly before their return from the continent.

Edward's first campaign, however, must detain us for a little ; for the incidents were both remarkable in themselves, and they have been recorded in much detail by the writer to whom we must be principally indebted throughout our sketch. Froissart, indeed, is not so much a great historian as a great historical painter—the greatest that ever painted in words. He is extremely inaccurate in dates and names, and other such prosaic matters, and even in his own proper line he may be suspected of having sometimes intermixed a little fancy with his facts ; yet he may be always trusted, better than almost any other writer, for *what is after all the most important truth, the characteristic spirit or inner life of what he*

describes; and even in this part of his chronicle, which relates to events that happened before he was born, and in which therefore he writes to a greater extent than in the latter portions of it from report, he has thrown in much of what he had actually seen along with what he had only heard, and, if the sketching be in so far a copy, the colouring at least is his own. The account of the demonstration (for it was hardly more) which Edward made on the northern border is a great deal too long to be extracted in full; but we will select some of the more striking incidents, or those in which the young English king figures the most conspicuously. As we abridge the narrative, we will retain as much as possible of our author's style and manner, adhering for the most part to the excellent old English translation by Lord Berners.

When Robert de Bruce, King of Scotland, we are told, heard how that the old king, Edward the Second, was taken and deposed down from his regality and his crown, and certain of his counsellors beheaded and put to destruction, then, although he was himself become very old and ancient, and sick (as it was said) of the great evil and malady, he bethought him that he would



on her expedition to England, and had only recently returned to his own country. He and his men of war now landed at Dover, whence they rode straight to the town of York, where the king, and the queen his mother, and all his lords, with a great host, were tarrying their coming. They arrived at York within three days of Pentecost. The English were lodged two or three leagues off, all about in the country; the foreigners in the suburbs of the city, an abbey of monks being assigned to Sir John for himself and his household. Then the narrative proceeds:—"The gentle King of England, the better to feast these strange lords and all their company, held a great court on Trinity Sunday in the Friars, where he and the queen his mother were lodged, keeping their house each of them apart. All this feast the king had well five hundred knights, and fifteen were new made. And the queen had well in her court sixty ladies and damozelles, who were there ready to make feast and cheer to Sir John of Hainault and to his company. There might have been seen great nobles, plenty of all manner of strange victual. There were ladies and damoselles, freshly apparellled, ready to have danced if they might have leave. But incontinent after dinner there began a great fray between some of the grooms and pages of the strangers and of the archers of England, who were lodged among them in the same suburbs; and anon all the archers assembled them together with their bows, and drove the strangers home to their lodging; and the most part of the knights and masters of them were as yet in the king's court, but, as soon as they heard tidings of the fray, each of them drew to their own lodging, in great haste such as might enter, and such as might not get in were in great peril. For the archers, who were to the number of three thousand, shot fast their arrows, not sparing masters nor varlets. . . . And the Englishmen that were hosts to these strangers shut fast their doors and windows, and would not suffer them to enter in to their lodgings: howbeit some got in on the back side, and quickly armed them, but they durst not *issue out into the street for fear of the arrows.* Then

the strangers broke out on the back side, and brake down pales and hedges of gardens, and drew them into a certain plain place, and abode their company, till at last they were a hundred and above of men of arms, and as many unharnessed, such as could not get to their lodgings. And, when they were assembled together, they hasted them to go and succour their companions, who defended their lodgings in the great street." At the lodging of the Lord D'Enghien, where there were great gates both before and behind, opening into the great street, the English archers were shooting fiercely at the house, and many of the foreigners were hurt; but three good knights, whose names are given, although they could not get into their lodgings to arm them, yet did as valiantly as though they had been armed. "They had great levers in their hands, the which they found in a carpenter's yard, with the which they gave such strokes that men durst not approach to them. They three beat down that day, with such few company as they had, mo than sixty. For they were great and mighty knights." In the end the English archers were discomfited and put to the rout, after about three hundred men had been slain on both sides. "I trow," concludes



rily their lives or they were slain. So they made
 fair ordinances among themselves by good and
 advice; whereby they were fain oftentimes to lie
 in harness by night, and in the day to keep their
 watch, and to have all their harness ready and their
 saddled. Thus continually they were fain to
 watch by their constables in the fields and high-
 about the court, and to send out scout-watches a-
 round to see ever if any such people were coming to
 ward as they were informed of, to the intent that,
 if a scout-watch heard any noise, or moving of people
 toward the cityward, then, incontinent, they should
 give knowledge, whereby they might the sooner
 gather together, each of them under their own banner,
 to the place, the which they had advised for the
 tent. And in this tribulation they abode in the
 suburbs by the space of four weeks, and in all that
 time they durst not go far from their harness, nor from
 their lodgings, saving a certain of the chief lords among
 them who went to the court to see the king and his
 council, who made them right good cheer. For, if the
 last adventure had not been, they had sojourned
 in a great ease, for the city and the country about
 them was right plentiful. For, all the time of six weeks
 the king and the lords of England, and more than
 a hundred thousand men of war, lay there, the victuals were
 the dearer; for ever they had a penny worth for
 their victuals, as well as other had before they came there;
 there was good wine of Gascoign, and of Anjou,
 of the Rhine, and plenty thereof; with right good
 straw as well of pollen* as of other victuals; and there
 was daily brought before their lodgings hay, oats, and
 straw, whereof they were well served for their horses,
 at a meetly† price."

admirably in this way does the garrulous, graphic,
 antique old chronicler bring before us England and
 English five hundred years ago! Immediately after
 is an equally curious picture of the Scots, and how
 they went to war, no doubt drawn or at least filled up
 by a poet.

† Meet, fit, reasonable.

from Froissart's own observation when he visited the northern part of the island some years later. About four weeks after the fray at York, the army set out and marched forward to the city of Durham, "a day's journey within the country called Northumberland, the which at that time was a savage and a wild country, full of deserts and mountains, and a right poor country of everything saving of beasts; through the which there runneth a river, full of flint and great stones, called the water of Tyne." It was now found that the Scots had effected the passage of the Tyne without being noticed. They had passed at Haydon, about fifteen miles above Newcastle. "These Scottish men," says Froissart, "are right hardy, and sore travelling in harness and in wars. For, when they will enter into England, within a day and a night they will drive their whole host twenty-four mile, for they are all on horseback, without it be the traundals and laggars of the host, who follow after a-foot. The knights and squires are well horsed, and the com-

l bushes."

ccount that follows of the movements and coun-
ments of the two hosts is one of the most curious
acteristic passages in Froissart, and a pretty full
of it will introduce the reader better than can be
any other way both to Edward and his historian,
; least one leading department of life in England
rteenth century.

English, infuriated by what they saw and heard
vastations of the invaders, followed them for two
ays by the guidance of the smoke that marked
structive course; but, although they were wast-
ning, and pillaging only five miles ahead, they
ot be overtaken. It was then determined to
the Tyne, and, crossing that river, to wait on
ern bank for the return of the Scots. The march
; described as in the highest degree toilsome and
is, many men and horses being lost among the
is, rocks, and marshes, and through the continual
at were occasioned by the shouting of those that
most at the harts, hinds, and other savage beasts,
re continually starting, when those in the rear



same place whereas the Scots had passed over into England, weening to them that they must needs repass again the same way. Then the King of England and his host passed over the same river, with such guides as he had, with much pain and travail, for the passage was full of great stones. And, when they were over, they lodged them that night by the river side. And by that time the sun was gone to rest, and there was but few among them that had either axe or hook, or any instrument to cut down any wood to make their lodgings withal ; and there were many that had lost their own company, and wist not where they were. Some of the foot-men were far behind, and wist not well what way to take ; but such as knew best the country said plainly they had ridden the same day twenty-four English miles ; for they rode as fast as they might, without any rest, but at such passages as they could not choose. All this night they lay by this river side, still in their harness, holding their horses by their reins in their hands, for they wist not whereunto to tie them : thus their horses did eat no meat of all that night nor day before ; they had neither oats nor forage for them : nor the people of the host had no sustenance of all that day nor night, but every man his loaf that he had



side in that town, that whosoever would bring
r wine, or any other victual, should be paid for
ith at a good price; it being at the same time
ed that the king and his host would not depart
place where they were till they had heard some
f the enemy's whereabouts. By the next day at
purveyors returned with what they had been
secure in this way: it was not over much. But
barn," it is added, "came other folks of the
with little nags, charged with bread, evil baken,
rs, and small pear wine in barrells, and other
to sell in the host, whereby great part of the
e well refreshed and eased." In this state they
l for eight days, including the three in which
l been in a manner without bread, wine, candle
light, fodder, forage, or any manner of purvey-
e scarcity even after this being still so great that
loaf of bread was sold for sixpence, and a gallon of
at was worth but sixpence, for six groats. "And
all that, there was such rage of famine, that each
tuals out of other's hands, whereby there rose
ttles and strifes between sundry companions; and
de all these mischiefs it never ceased to rain all
le week, whereby their saddles, panels, and
ingles were all rotten and broken, and most part
horses hurt on their backs; nor they had naught
ith to shoe them that were unshod, nor they had
to cover themself withal from the rain and
t green bushes and their armour; nor they had
to make fire withal, but green boughs, the
ould not burn because of the rain." All this
ey had heard nothing of the enemy; discontent
spread in the camp; it was determined to repass
r, and proclamation was made that whosoever
irst bring to the king certain information of
he Scots were should be made a knight and have
the value of a hundred pounds a year settled
n and his heirs for ever. On the fourth day, about
the afternoon, a squire, one of fifteen or sixteen
set forth in the hope of winning this reward,

came riding at a quick pace up to the king, and, beginning, "An it like your grace, I have brought you perfect tidings of the Scots your enemies," stated that he had actually been taken prisoner by them, and brought before the lords of their host, who, when he told them his object, had dismissed him without ransom, that he might inform Edward that they were only three miles off, stationed on a great mountain, and as desirous to find and fight with the English as the English could be to meet with them. The name of the lucky squire was Thomas de Rokesby. "As soon," continues our author, "as the king had heard this tidings, he assembled all his host in a fair meadow to pasture their horses; and besides there was a little abbey, the which was all brent, called in the days of King Arthur, Le Blanch Land. There the king confessed him, and every man made him ready. The king caused many masses to be sung, to houzel all such as had devotion thereto; and incontinent he assigned a hundred pounds sterling of rent

the intent to give thereby the more courage to people; the which king in full goodly manner and requised them right graciously that everyuld pain them to do their best, to save his honour among weal of his realm. And it was commanded in of death, that none should go before the maners, nor break their array, without they were asked. And then the king commanded that they advance toward their enemies fair and easily." etc, however, though formally invited by a deputy heralds-at-arms to come down from their vantage, and have the battle fought fairly in the plain, that or the following day, as they might themselves, wisely refused to stir. "Sirs," they answered, "your king and his lords see well how we be in this realm, and have brent and wasted the same, we have passed through; and, if they be used therewith, let them amend it when they will, we will abide so long as it shall please us." As it was resolved by the English to remain where they were all that night. It was the night of St. Peter's the beginning of August. They lay in their quarters on the hard and stony ground. "They had no stakes nor rods," continues Froissart, "to tie withal their horses, nor forage, nor bush withal to make any lodgings. And when they were thus lodged, then the Scots ordered some of their people to keep still the field whereas they had ordained their battles, and the remnant went to their lodgings, and they made such fires that it was to behold. And between the day and the night there made a marvellous great bruit with blowing of trumpets all at once, that it seemed properly that all the devils of hell had been there." This mere show and noise was repeated on both sides for three days, all the while fighting being a little skirmishing between small parties that occasionally came forth from either army, crossed the stream, some on horseback, some on foot; the English, who learned from their prisoners that the Scots, though they had plenty of beef, were run out of meal, had made up their minds to remain till

famine should force their cautious and unassailable enemy either to fight or surrender. But behold ! on the morning of the fourth day, when they looked at the mountain, no Scots were to be seen ; they had quietly made off in the middle of the night. About noon, however, they were discovered not far off, upon another mountain, in a still stronger position, by the same river side, having now a great wood on one of their flanks, enabling them to go and come secretly whenever they chose. The English immediately took their station on an eminence over against them,—in Stanhope Park, according to the common account ; the enemy were again repeatedly invited to come over and fight fairly in the intermediate plain ; but they were deaf to all such proposals ; and thus the two hosts remained looking at one another for the long space of eighteen more days. The first night, however, the Lord William Douglas, taking with him about two hundred men of arms, crossed the river at a distant point, and suddenly breaking into the English host about midnight, with the cry of “ A Douglas ! A Douglas ! ye shall all die, thieves of England ! ” slew or carried off no fewer than three hundred men : the gallant leader spurring on, and still alarming the night



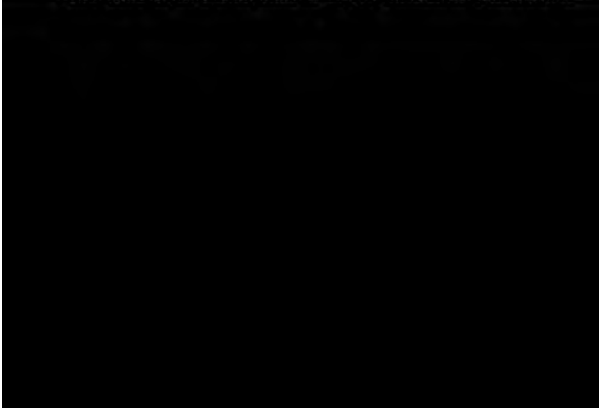
the fire, full of water and full of flesh to be sodden, and more than a thousand spits* full of flesh to be roasted; and more than ten thousand old shoes made of raw leather, with the hair still on them, the which the Scots had left behind them; also there they found five poor Englishmen prisoners bound fast to certain trees, and some of their legs broken." On the second day about noon the English army, well nigh worn out with fatigue, reached a great abbey two miles from Durham; on the morrow the king went forward to that city, and visited the venerable old cathedral and made his offering; and here every man found his carriage which he had left thirty-two days before in a wood at midnight, when they first started in pursuit of the Scots. "The burgesses and people of Durham had found and brought them into their town at their own costs and charges. And all these carriages were set in void granges and barns in safeguard, and on every man's carriage his own cognizance or arms, whereby every man might know his own. And the lords and gentlemen were glad when they had thus found their carriages. Thus they abode two days in the city of Durham, and the host roundabout, for they could not all lodge within the city; and there their horses were new shod. And then they took their way to the city of York; and so within three days they came thither, and there the king found the queen his mother, who received him with great joy, and so did all other ladies, damozelles, burgesses, and commons of the city."

Before the end of the year a peace was made with Scotland; and in a parliament assembled at York in March following, Edward renounced for himself and his successors all claims of superiority over the crown of that country; and shortly after, his sister the Princess Jane or Joanna (called De la Tour, from having been born in the Tower of London) was carried to Berwick by her mother, and there affianced to David, the Prince of Scotland, as yet only in his fifth year. The great Bruce died within a year after (on the 7th of July, 1329),

* Lord Hailes says the French term, *hastiers*, means stands on each of which several spits were turned.

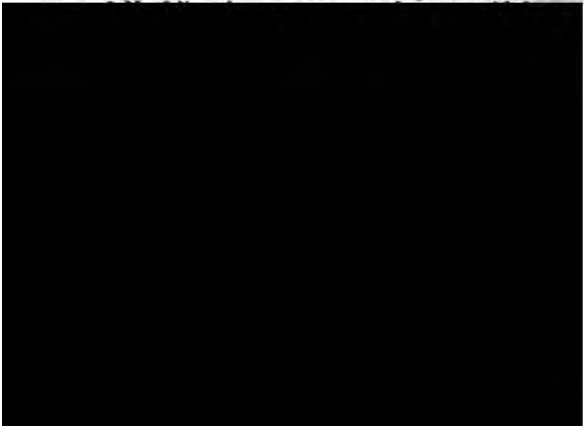
and was succeeded by his infant son as David the Second ; about two years after whose accession Edward Baliol made a sudden irroad into the country, and got himself crowned at Scone, but was driven out again in a few weeks. In a second invasion, however, in the following year, 1333, in which he was assisted by the English king, the Scots were defeated by Edward, on the 19th of July, in the great battle of Halidon Hill, near Berwick ; upon which that town was forced to surrender, nearly every other stronghold in the kingdom immediately followed its example, and the young King David took refuge in France. Baliol, however, whom these events had again seated on the throne, was again driven out within a year ; the war was carried on for some years, in the course of which Edward once, in the summer of 1336, proceeded as far north as to Inverness, carrying fire and sword wherever he appeared ; but no permanent occupation or subjugation could be effected ; as soon as the English army disappeared the Scots were again in arms ; in May 1341 David and his queen returned from France ; and at last, in the beginning of 1343, a truce was concluded which left the two countries at peace for nearly four years.

But long before this time a great domestic revolution



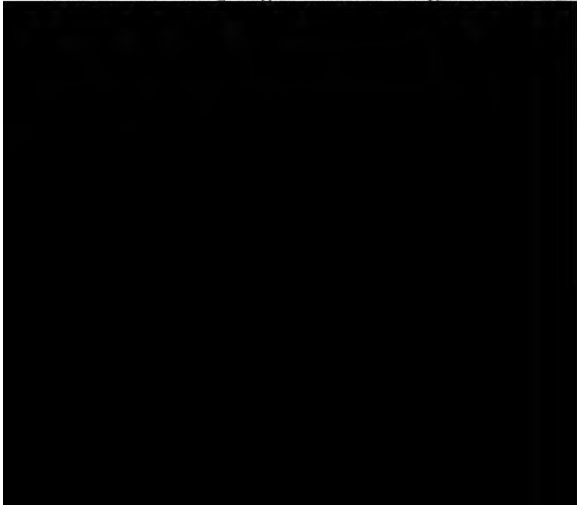
o-doubt felt the state of tutelage, or at least a from all share in the government, in which pt by his mother and Mortimer, every day ag. It is said that the king confided his the Lord Montacute; and by his advice it d to make an attempt to seize Mortimer at a which was to be held at Nottingham in . At this parliament the favourite appeared glory and honour," says Stow, "that it was comparison. No man durst name him any Earl of March; a greater rout of men followed : than on the king's person; he would suffer s rise to him, and would walk with the king p by step and cheek by cheek, never pre- king, but would go foremost himself with his . While he took up his own lodgings with the her son in Nottingham Castle, he directed ighest of the other nobility, including the in, the Earl of Lancaster, should be lodged in istant parts of the town or without it. The s, however, opened their design to Sir William o had long been keeper of the castle; and he admit them during the night by a subter- sage, leading from a point at a considerable the west side of the rock, of the existence of timer was not aware. On the night of the ctober, accordingly, having concerted their the king, Montacute and his associates entered sage. They were joined by Edward on the aircase. Advancing in silence, and with their ds in their hands, they soon came to a room, voice of Mortimer was heard conversing. ie king without, they rushed in, and slaying s, who endeavoured to oppose them, laid hold . The queen, who was in bed in the adjoining ie door of which was open, cried out "Bel z, Ayez pitié de gentil Mortimer" (Fair son, ave pity upon gentle Mortimer); she then *walking into the room, passionately exclaimed* a worthy knight, her well-beloved cousin,

her dearest friend ; but he was quickly secured and hurried off. At a parliament held at Westminster about a month after, he was condemned, with little form of trial, to die the death of a traitor ; and he and one of his confederates were hanged together at the Elms at Tyburn, on the 29th of November. "He hung," Stow tells us, "two days and two nights by the king's commandment, and then was buried in the Grey Friars' Church," now Christ's Hospital, in Newgate Street. Yet Mortimer's attainder was reversed in 1352, and his honours restored to his grandson ; his great-granddaughter married Lionel Duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III. ; his great-great-granddaughter and ultimately sole heir, Ann Mortimer, by her marriage with Richard Plantagenet Earl of Cambridge, conveyed her right to the crown thence derived to the House of York ; her grandson mounted the throne as Edward IV. ; and it has been occupied ever since the death of Henry VII. by her descendants. As for Queen Isabella, she was, upon her fall from power, reduced to an income of 3000*l.* a year (which was afterwards increased to 4000*l.*), and ordered to confine herself in what some authorities call her manor of Risings near London, others Rising Castle, on the



was the daughter of the French king Philip IV. died in 1314, and was succeeded by his eldest son Philip V. (styled *Le Hutin*, or the Quarrelsome). He died in 1322, and was in the first instance succeeded by a posthumous son, named John, who, however, he lived only a few days, is not usually reckoned among the kings of France. It was then determined, for the first time, that the French crown, by what was called the Salic law, did not descend to females; and, to the exclusion of the daughter of Louis, Joanna, Countess of Navarre, afterwards Queen of Navarre, his brother succeeded him as Philip V. (surnamed the Long). In 1328, when Philip died in 1322, although he left no children, he was succeeded by his next brother, Charles IV. (styled *Le Bel*, or the Fair). The event happened in 1328, and which we have described having been attended with important consequences to France and to England, was the death of Charles IV. He also left two daughters, but no son. In these instances, according to the two last precedents, it was determined that the heir to the crown was to be sought for among the nearest male who could claim through an unbroken descent; the principle apparently being, as in all cases in which male descent only was recognised, that females should be regarded as nullities, or should not be introduced into the genealogical tree at all. The usual thus circumstanced was indisputably Philip of France, whose father, Charles of Valois, was the second son of Philip III. (the Hardy), and the younger brother of Philip IV. (the Fair). Against his right, however, Edward III. set up a principle or rule of succession which was at least new. He admitted that females were excluded from actually reigning in France, otherwise the daughter of Navarre would have succeeded her father Philip IV., and would have excluded not only both himself and his present competitor, but also the two last kings, Philip V. and Charles IV. But he contended that although females could not be called to the throne themselves, they nevertheless conveyed a right of succession to their male descendants; and that he therefore,

as the grandson, through his mother, of Philip IV., had a preferable claim to Philip of Valois, who was only the grandson of Philip III. If this had been the whole case, Edward's pretensions might have had some plausibility; it might have been conceived and understood how, in conformity with the general principles of feudalism, a female, though excluded in her own person from a certain office or possession, might still serve as a link for transmitting a right to it to her male descendant. She might be held only as it were to step aside and allow him to take her place in a function which her sex was deemed to disqualify her from discharging. But the real weakness and inadmissibility of Edward's claim lay in the necessity he was under of qualifying this principle upon which he founded it by a limitation entirely opposed to the genius and spirit of the feudal system, and which would have made the law of descent a self-contradictory mass of confusion and absurdity. For, if a female universally might transmit a right which she



be affected by the date of the birth of any individual forming a link of it. Thus, no priority of birth can enable a nephew to come in before a son. So absolutely does this principle operate, that, even if there be no son in existence at the time of the death of a married man, his next relation does not inherit, or only inherits conditionally, till the time has passed within which it is possible that his widow should bring him a son. We had an instance in the case of the descent of the English crown on the death of the late king, William IV., when the present queen assumed the government at first only as it were provisionally, or with reservation of the rights of any possible unborn cousin. But the claim set up to the crown of France by Edward III., on the death of Charles IV., would have contravened this essential principle in the most flagrant and wholesale manner. It would have excluded in his favour more than half a dozen lines, all otherwise entitled, to come in before that to which he belonged—those, namely, of the descendants, actual or possible, of the two daughters of Charles IV., of the four daughters of Philip V., and of the daughter of Louis X., all of which kings had reigned since his ancestor Philip IV. And this transposition it would have made permanently; these seven lines would all have been extruded out of their proper places by his for ever, or at any rate until some one of them, possibly the last of all, should be again suddenly lifted over the heads of all the rest, and made the first, by the operation of the same strange principle which Edward contended had now produced that effect in his favour.

Strange as were the principles or grounds upon which Edward advanced his claim to the French crown, his means of enforcing it seemed at least proportionally inadequate, and his chances of success still more slight and visionary. It was not a case of the heads of two great national parties, dividing between them the adherence and support of the community. Edward had no party in France; the kingdom the succession to which was disputed was *wholly with his opponent*. The English crown had even been stripped in the course of the last

century and a half of the greater part of the territories which it anciently possessed in France. Bretagne, Normandy, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine had all been wrested from it in the disastrous reign of John ; and the loss of Poitou had followed in that of his equally unfortunate son Henry III. Of all the vast continental possessions of that great king the second Henry, there remained only the Duchy of Aquitaine or Guienne ; and even that had fallen more than once into the hands of the French monarchs, and the prevalent popular feeling was probably already more French than English. Edward's bold project, therefore, was nothing less than to effect the conquest of France by the sole force of England ; and that, too, while he had already upon his hands the war with Scotland, the object of which was also the subjugation of that kingdom, and the annexation of its crown to his own. The latter scheme, indeed, he found himself obliged to abandon soon after he had involved himself in his contest with France. But Scotland continued, nevertheless, for a time to divide his attention, if not his ambition ; and at least, it may be said, to occupy his left arm.

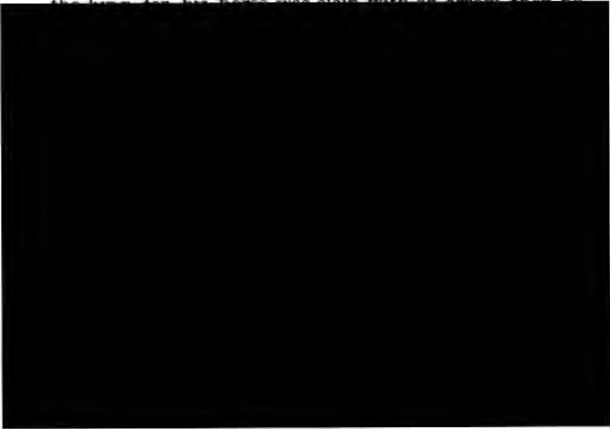
Strangest of all was the measure of success he attained.



ove thirty thousand of them were slain, including
 hundred knights and eleven persons of princely
 among the rest the aged John, King of Bohemia,
 whom the Princes of Wales are said, though doubts
 can lately cast upon the old story, to have bor-
 their plume of three ostrich feathers, with the
Fek dies (I serve). The young Prince of Wales,
 the Black Prince from the colour of his armour,
 , at any rate, among the foremost, boy as he was
 d just entered his fifteenth year), in the peril and
 of the day. Assisted by the Earls of Warwick
 rford, he commanded the first division of the little
 which bore the brunt of the battle. The king
 f remained with the reserve. Pressed by the
 side of the enemy, "they with the prince," says
 rt, "sent a messenger to the king, who was on a
 windmill hill. Then the knight said to the king,
 e Earl of Warwick and the Earl of Oxford, Sir
 ld Cobham, and other such as be about the prince
 on, are fiercely fought withal and are sore handled ;
 fore they desire you that you and your battle will
 nd aid them ; for if the Frenchmen increase, as
 ount they will, your son and they shall have much
 Then the king said, Is my son dead or hurt, or
 earth felled? No, Sir, quoth the knight ; but
 ardly matched ; wherefore he hath need of your
 Well, said the king, return to him, and to them
 nt you hither, and say to them that they send no
 o me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my
 alive ; and also say to them that they suffer him
 y to win his spurs ; for, if God be pleased, I will
 rney* be his, and the honour thereof, and to them
 e about him." The king's answer, when it was
 it to them, only gave new life and courage to the
 combatants. "This Saturday," the old chroni-
 rther writes, "the Englishmen never departed
 ir battles for chasing of any man, but kept still
 field, and ever defended themselves against all such
 e to assail them. This battle ended about even-

* Day.

song time. On this Saturday, when the night was come, and that the Englishmen heard no more noise of the Frenchmen, then they reputed themselves to have the victory, and the Frenchmen to be discomfited, slain, and fled away. Then they made great fires, and lighted up torches and candles, because it was very dark. Then the king availed * down from the little hill whereas he stood, and of all that day then his helm came never off on his head. Then he went with all his battle to his son the prince, and embraced him in his arms and kissed him, and said, Fair son, God give you good perseverance: ye are my good son: thus ye have acquitted you nobly: ye are worthy to keep a realm. The prince inclined himself to the earth, honouring the king his father. This night they thanked God for their good adventure, and made no boast thereof; for the king would that no man should be proud, or make boast, but every man humbly to thank God." As for Philip of Valois, he had only been able to escape with his life from this disastrous field. "In the evening," says Froissart, "the French king, who had left about him no more than a threescore persons, one and other, whereof Sir John of Hainault was one, who had remounted once
the king for his horse was slain with an arrow, then he



of Montford. The king would not tarry there, but drank and departed thence about midnight; and so rode by such guides as knew the country, till he came in the morning to Amiens, and there he rested."

Within two months after the defeat and rout of the French at Creci, another great victory broke the power of the Scots. As soon as King David found Edward fairly engaged in his continental war, he made preparations for crossing the borders. Setting out from Perth at the head of an army of three thousand men-at-arms, and thirty thousand others mounted on hackneys, he advanced by Edinburgh and Roxburgh, entered Cumberland, took the pile, or castle, of Liddel, and then, burning and wasting as he passed, directed his course into the bishopric. The energetic English king allowed no one of his family to be idle, any more than himself, and seems to have made it a principle to accustom his sons at the earliest possible age to at least the consciousness of the duties of their high position, and the sense if not the actual exercise of authority and power; he had left the nominal guardianship of the kingdom in the hands of his second son Lionel, a boy only eight years old; the actual charge and direction of affairs he had intrusted to his queen, the admirable Philippa. In those days, when the chivalrous spirit was at its height, heroism was the virtue of both sexes, as well as of all classes; a few years before this, the principal military personage that had figured in a war for the possession of the duchy of Bretagne was the famous Jane, Countess de Montfort; while her husband, one of the rival claimants, lay fast bound in a French prison, she took what would have been his place in the command of fortresses, at the head of armies, and in the thick of battles;* and now Queen

* When besieged in Hennebon by Charles of Blois, "the Countess herself," says Froissart, "ware harness on her body, and rode on a great courser fro street to street, desiring her people to make good defence; and she caused damozelles and other women to cut short their kirtles, and to carry stones, and pots full of chalk, to the walls, to be cast down to their enemies. This lady did there an hardy enter-

Philippa was to do the same thing in the absence of Edward. The English force that had been hurriedly assembled to meet the Scots amounted to a body of fifteen or sixteen thousand men, and a considerable part of it was composed of the clergy of the northern counties—the class of persons that could be most easily spared or got at, and quite as ready and as apt for the work to be done as any others. “The queen of England,” says Froissart, “who desired to defend her country, came to Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and there tarried for her men, who came daily from all parts. When the Scots knew that the Englishmen assembled at Newcastle, they drew thitherward, and their couriers came running before the town; and at their returning they brent certain small hamlets thereabout, so that the smoke thereof came into the town of Newcastle; some of the Englishmen would have issued out to have fought with them that made the fires, but the captains would not suffer them to issue out.” The two armies, however, at last encountered, on the 17th of October, at Nevil’s Cross, in the neighbourhood of the city of Durham. On the English side, after the divisions were all drawn up in array—the first under the



bishop of Canterbury, each warlike prelate, however, having a lay lord as his coadjutor—"the queen," Froissart informs us, "went fro battle to battle, desiring them to do their devoir,* to defend the honour of her lord the King of England, and, in the name of God, every man to be of good heart and courage, promising them that, to her power, she would remember them as well, or better, as though her lord the king were there personally. Then the queen departed fro them, recommending them to God and to Saint George. Then, anon after, the battles of the Scots began to set forward, and in like wise so did the Englishmen; then the archers began to shoot on both parties; the shots of the Scots endured but a short space, but the archers of England shot fiercely, so that when the battles approached there was a hard battle; they began at nine and endured till noon. The Scots had great axes, sharp and hard, and gave with them many great strokes; howbeit, finally the Englishmen obtained the place and victory." The slaughter was considerable on both sides, but far the greatest on that of the Scots, fifteen thousand of whom, including many of their chief nobility, were left dead on the field. The greatest loss of all, however, was the capture of their young and gallant king. Refusing to fly, he had, after receiving two dangerous wounds from arrows, one of which pierced his head, been dragged or fallen from his horse; but still he fought on; till at last, overpowered by numbers, he was disarmed and carried off by John Copland, a gentleman of Northumberland, who did not, however, secure his prize without a violent struggle, in which the king, deprived of his sword, wounded him with his gauntlet. David Bruce remained in captivity in England for more than ten years.

Meanwhile Edward was engaged abroad in the memorable siege of Calais, the garrison of which, after a blockade of nearly a year, was forced to surrender by famine, on the 4th of August, 1347. All our readers are no doubt familiar with the scene of the appearance in the English camp of Eustace de St. Pierre and his five fellow-

* Duty.

townsmen, come to offer themselves, barefoot and bare-headed, and with halters about their necks, as sacrifices to appease the anger of their long-baffled conqueror, in which Queen Philippa again shines forth so nobly. The story rests upon the authority of Froissart, but has no air of improbability or even of much fanciful embellishment.

When Sir Walter Manny, we are told, "presented these burgesses to the king, they kneeled down, and held up their hands and said, 'Gentle king, behold here, we six, who were burgesses of Calais, and great merchants, we have brought to you the keys of the town and of the castle, and we submit ourself clearly into your will and pleasure, to save the residue of the people of Calais, who have suffered great pain : Sir, we beseech your grace to have mercy and pity on us through your high nobless.' Then all the earls and barons, and other that were there, wept for pity. The king looked felly on them, for greatly he hated the people of Calais for the great damages and displeasures they had done him on the sea before. Then he commanded their heads to be stricken off. Then every man required the king for mercy, but he would hear no man in that behalf. Then Sir Walter of Manny said, 'Ah, noble king, for God's sake, refrain your



space, and then said, 'Ah, dame, I would ye had been as now in some other place; ye make such request to me that I cannot deny you; wherefore I give them to you to do your pleasure with them.' Then the queen caused them to be brought into her chamber, and made the halters to be taken fro their necks, and caused them to be new clothed, and gave them their dinner at their leisure; and then she gave each of them six nobles, and made them to be brought out of the host in safeguard, and set at their liberty." Calais, thus won, remained an English town for more than two centuries—till it was lost in the reign of Mary, in the year 1558.

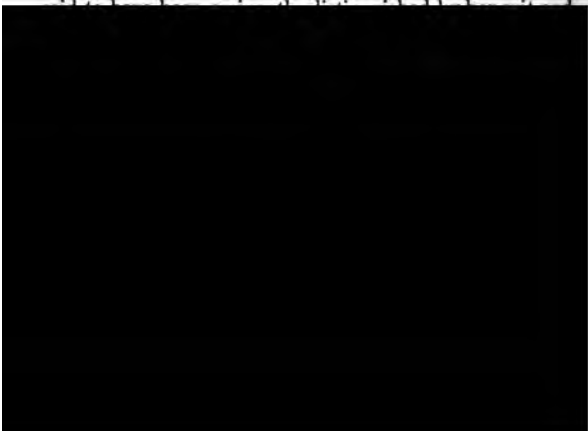
The remaining course of the war with France may be very summarily sketched. After the fall of Calais a succession of armistices or truces suspended hostilities for about six years. Meanwhile King Philip had died in 1350, and been succeeded by his eldest son John. By this time Edward had come to perceive how little impression his brilliant but insulated successes had made upon the real strength of his adversary—how little a way—or, rather, no way at all—he had advanced towards the conquest of France by the mere winning of a great battle or two, and the capture and retention of a single town. In the end of the year 1353, therefore, he renewed more formally an offer which he had already made to Philip, of renouncing his claim to the French crown on condition of being acknowledged as sovereign of Guienne, Poitou, and the other territories in France which the English kings had hitherto held as vassals. The negotiations consumed some time, but ended in nothing: several months were then spent in preparations for the renewal of the war; at last, in October, 1355, the Black Prince, who had been for some years intrusted with the government of Guienne, took the field at the head of an army of sixty thousand men, with which, advancing from his capital of Bordeaux, he made a circuit through Armagnac and Languedoc, spreading devastation wherever he went, and laying, it is affirmed, more than five hundred towns and villages in ashes in the space of seven weeks. In the summer of the next year he pro-

ceeded to repeat the same experiment in a different direction : this time the force with which he set out amounted to only about twelve thousand men, and with these he boldly crossed the Garonne, and penetrated into the heart of France. For some weeks he pursued his destructive course without opposition ; but, at last, when making for Poitiers, and within a short distance of that city, he suddenly found himself enveloped by a French army, commanded by King John, more than four times as numerous as his own. Then, on the 19th of September, was fought the battle of Poitiers, making that other name worthy to be associated for ever in story and in song with Creci, of which both the extremity of peril and the glorious deliverance were now more than renewed. The French host was beaten back at all points, and in the end utterly routed, scattered, and annihilated by Prince Edward and his handful of English. Most of the chief nobility of France were either slain or captured : King John himself fell into the hands of the victors. The illustrious captive was treated with noble courtesy both by the Black Prince and by the king his father ; but, although the extraordinary fortune of Edward had now placed in his power the persons of the kings of



mencement of his reign, had betrayed a disposition to extricate himself as soon as an opportunity should occur from the obligations of the treaty of Bretigny, the renunciations stipulated by which had never, in fact, been actually made on either side. Meanwhile the course of circumstances favoured his views. The King of England was no longer the man he had been either in ardour or in energy ; his heroic son had also fallen into ill health, the effect of exposure in an expedition, to be lamented on every account, which he had made in the winter of 1366-7 into Spain, to assist Pedro the Cruel in his contest for the throne of Castile with his illegitimate brother Enrique ; and much disaffection had been excited both in Poitou and Guienne by the severe exactions of the English government, rendered necessary by the expenses of this expedition, and by the debts incurred in the late war. In the beginning of the year 1369 Charles openly took his ground by summoning the Black Prince, as Duke of Aquitaine, to appear in his court as a vassal, and answer the complaints of the people of that duchy. The most memorable event of the short war that followed was the sad and atrocious massacre by the English prince of the inhabitants of Limoges, the capital of his country of the Limosin, after he had recovered the town, which had a short time previously been taken by, or had given itself up to, the French general, the Duke of Berri. "It was great pity," says Froissart, "to see the men, women, and children that kneeled down on their knees before the prince for mercy, but he was so inflamed with ire that he took no heed to them, so that none was heard, but all put to death as they were met withal, and such as were nothing culpable : there was no pity taken of the poor people, who wrought never no manner of treason, yet they bought it dearer than the great personages, such as had done the evil and trespass. There was not so hard a heart within the city of Limoges, an if he had any remembrance of God, but that wept piteously for the great mischief that they saw before their eyen ; for mo than three thousand men, women, and children were *slain and beheaded that day*. God have mercy on

their souls! for I trow they were martyrs." Disease by this time seems to have debilitated and perverted the very moral nature of the prince. He was soon after obliged to sheathe his sword, and come home to England, where he lingered, in such debility and suffering as allowed him to take very little actual share in public affairs, although his name remained influential, till his death on the 8th of June, 1376. The war in France, meanwhile, had prospered so ill, that by the year 1374 Edward, who had retained and still used the title of king of that country, had lost all the territory he had ever possessed there, with the exception only of Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne, and a few detached localities between those two last-named towns. No peace, however, was ever made while Edward lived. After the death of the Black Prince the chief ascendancy in the government was acquired by his younger brother John of Gaunt (that is, Ghent, the place of his birth), Duke of Lancaster. The king himself, who had lost Queen Philippa in 1369, had, in the weakness of old age, sunk under the dominion of a female favourite, Alice Perrers or Piers. She was a married woman, and had been lady of the bedchamber to Queen Philippa; and she is



while Edward, wasting with disease, lay, to quote the words of Stow, "neglecting the benefit of time that God had given him, like as he should never have died; trusting the fond fables of the oft-named Alice when she affirmed he should recover his health, so that at that time he talked rather of hawking and hunting than of any thing that pertained to the saving of his soul; only he granted pardon of death for offences throughout his kingdom to the inhabitants." "Being now," continues this old chronicler, "suddenly taken with the day of his death, he began to have manifest signs thereof; what Alice Piers then did any man may judge, although we set them not down in writing; for, as soon as she saw the king had set foot within death's door, she bethought her of flight; yet before she went, that all men might perceive that she loved not the king for himself, but for that which was his, she took the rings from his fingers which for the royalty of his majesty he was wont to wear. Thus yielding him such thanks for his benefits, she bade him adieu, and so withdrew herself from him. The king, keeping thus at the point of death, was left not only of her the said Alice Piers, but of other the knights and esquires, who had served him, allured more with his gifts than his love. Amongst a thousand, there was only present at that time a certain priest (other of his folks applying the spoil of what they could lay hands on), who, lamenting the king's misery, and inwardly touched with grief of heart for that, amongst so many counsellors which he had, there was none that would minister to him the word of life, came boldly unto him, and admonished him to lift up the eyes as well of his body as of his heart unto God, and with sighs to ask mercy of him, whose majesty he well knew he had grievously offended; whereupon the king, listening to the words of the priest, although he had a little before wanted the use of his tongue, yet then taking strength to him, seemed to speak what was in his mind; and then, what for weakness of his body, contrition of his heart, and sobbing for his sins, his voice and speech failed him, and, scarce half pronouncing the word *Jesu*, he with this last word made

an end of his speech, and yielded up the ghost." He died at Richmond in ~~Sumey~~ (then called Shine or Sheen), about seven o'clock on the evening of Sunday the 21st of June, 1377; leaving the throne to his grandson, Richard II., son of Edward the Black Prince, by his wife Joan, called the Fair Maid of Kent, the daughter of his great uncle Edmund, Earl of Kent, and previously the wife of Thomas Holland, who in her right had assumed the title of Earl of Kent in 1360, but died in the end of the same year, upon which his widow immediately gave her hand to the Prince of Wales.

The children borne to Edward III. by his wife Queen Philippa were, Edward the Black Prince, in 1330; Isabel, who became the wife of Ingelram de Coucy, in 1332; Joan de la Tour, in 1335; William of Hatfield, in 1336; Lionel, afterwards Duke of Clarence, in 1338; Blanche de la Tour, who died in childhood in 1340; John of Ghent, afterwards Duke of Lancaster, in 1340; Edmund, afterwards Duke of York, in 1341; Mary, afterwards Duchess of Bretagne, probably in 1342; Margaret, afterwards Countess of Pembroke, in 1346; William, in 1349; and Thomas, afterwards Duke of Gloucester, in 1355.

It has been observed in regard to Edward III. that



internal tranquillity of England during the forty years of his effective reign. It was the natural consequence of so long and watchful a pursuit of popularity, that most grievances were redressed as soon as felt, that parliamentary authority was yearly strengthened by exercise, and that the minds of the turbulent barons were exclusively turned towards a share in their sovereign's glory. Quiet at home was partly the fruit of fame abroad."



BEYOND that of most of our great men, has the fame of
Wiclif* undergone fierce dispute within the last few
years. From regarding him with reverence as "the



WICKLIFF



have examined the several statements; we shall be content with expressing our own opinions.

There is some uncertainty about both the year and the place of John Wiclif's birth: the place which seems most probable, however, is a little village pleasantly situated near the junction of the rivers Greta and Tees, about six miles from Richmond in Yorkshire; the year 1324. What is known of his life commences with the year 1340, when he entered as a commoner at Queen's College, Oxford, then newly founded; his name is in the list of the first scholars. From Queen's he soon removed to Merton College, at that time highest in repute at the University; where he greatly distinguished himself. The theology taught at this period was that of the schoolmen, who, as Bacon afterwards said of them, "did, out of no great quantity of matter, spin out those laborious webs of learning which are extant in their books . . . admirable indeed for the fineness of the thread, but of no substance or profit." In this scholastic discipline Wiclif became so deeply versed, that his contemporary Knighton, a bitter enemy and a competent judge, declared he was without an equal (*in scholasticis disciplinis incomparabilis*.) Nor was he skilled in this alone; he appears to have pursued, with almost equal success, the whole round of moral, philosophical, and legal studies as then taught. According to the standard of his time he was an eminently learned man.

The earliest of Wiclif's publications, so far as is known, was written in 1356; it was first printed in 1840. The work itself does not occupy more than fourteen small pages, and is of little value on its own account, but deserving attention, as Wiclif's first work, written when he was thirty-two years old, a period in a man's life when his character is fixed and his tone of thought determined, and when consequently the opinions he has formed will almost certainly colour the actions of the remainder of his life. We may therefore spend a few minutes in looking at this production and at the circumstances which called it forth. In 1349 a fearful pestilence occurred in England. It had marched slowly from the east,

ravaging every country it passed through. Nearly the whole of Europe was visited by it. The voice of the terrified nations affirmed that only a tithe of the human race had escaped; that all children born since it were deficient in the number of their teeth; that even the brute creation was not spared, their corpses being so many as to fill the air with a horrible taint. So severe indeed was the visitation, that, in this country at least, it long served as an epoch from which legal documents were dated. The Scriptures told that pestilence had of old been the scourge wherewith an offended God had punished the sins of the nations; and the people devoutly believed that this had been sent for such a purpose. The plague ceased, but sober men saw with sorrow that the rulers and the priests had not heeded the heavenly warning, and to the faithful the wickedness that stalked abroad seemed like an awful defiance of the divine power. Under such circumstances and prompted by some such feelings was it that Wiclif wrote 'The Last Age of the Church.' Taking for his guide the prophecies of Abbot Joachim, a mystic who lived in the twelfth century, and combining therewith a cabalistic computation of the Scriptural prophecies, and turning also to the verses of the Sybil, he thought the end of the world was at hand, and announced its speedy dissolution. He was mistaken, and lived to see that he was mistaken. But although his prophecy failed, there is much in the tract that shows the man as he then was, and throws a bright light on his future career. It proves that he had thus early come to have identified in his mind religion with the whole life of man, to look upon it as reaching to all his duties and employments, that he, indeed, regarded it as the animating principle of the whole of the political and social institutions. It proves that he had cast an anxious look around him, and, dissatisfied with the state of the world, he was more dissatisfied with the ministers of religion, whom he boldly and broadly charges with a disregard of their higher functions, and an indulgence in a *greedy and unholy rapacity*. It may in a word be said, *that the object of the tract is to declare the troubles that*

will fall upon the church and the world, on account of the simony of the priests, and the encroachments and exactions of the papal power.

These feelings were brought out more strongly a few years later. In 1360 he engaged in what a recent historian calls "a fierce but ridiculous controversy with the different orders of friars." To the stern moral dignity of Wiclif the controversy did not seem a ridiculous one, and indeed it hardly seems to us more ridiculous than that of Luther with Tetzel and the Dominicans. These friars had been established in England for more than a century, and had obtained considerable influence. Although vowing poverty, they had acquired great wealth; under the guise of sanctity they had concealed, it was affirmed, gross depravity. They had almost from the first been at enmity with the secular clergy, and were especially obnoxious to the University of Oxford. Before Wiclif, they met with a steady opponent in Fitz-Ralph, chancellor of Oxford, and afterwards Bishop of Armagh, who carried his charges against them to the papal throne. Fitz-Ralph died in 1360, from which time Wiclif pursued the war fiercely, and only ceased to prosecute it with his life. Of the works he produced against them at this period it is not certain that any remain. Two pieces, one which he presented to the court of Richard II., and the other which seems to have been written a year or two before his death, were printed by Dr. James in 1608, and serve to show the nature of his quarrel. It was not, as Dr. Lingard implies, merely a charge against them for depending upon alms, which Wiclif asserted to be repugnant to the Gospel; though upon that he strongly insisted, but rather that they misled the unwary, by holding out to them false hopes of pardon, and by their untrue representations obtained their property from them, leading them to trust to these worthless pardons thus purchased by money, instead of setting before them the great Gospel truth. He charges them with doing this that they might obtain the wealth of their dupes. They become, he says in his bitter and plain-spoken *language*, "*confessors, preachers, and rulers*

if the demand were persisted in, to oppose it with the whole power of the nation. Urban was intimidated by an opposition so much more resolute than he expected. A monk, however, published a tract, in which he asserted the right of the pontiff to the tribute, and threatened to declare, that England was justly forfeited in count of the non-payment of it; and hence he proceeded to assert that the clergy were absolved from their allegiance to the English king. To controvert his argument he challenged Wiclif by name. The reformer did not the man to submit quietly to such a challenge; he speedily replied to it, though, as he declared, he was ignorant that the object of his antagonist was to bring him in difficulties with the pope, and to obtain for himself, and his order, the papal favour. Wiclif's statement of the debate in parliament, and of the arguments there adduced against the grant; and then, in his own name, shows that the papal claim, and the grounds on which it was founded, were dishonest, and that the

gratitude for his services in opposition to the growing influence and power of the monks, and his fervid declaration against the continuous encroachment of the pope. But if it were for these less immediately *religious* services that he received the appointment of professor of divinity, it is not to be doubted but, in accordance with his repeatedly declared sentiments of the responsibility of the ministers of religion, he would address himself devoutly to the important duties of the office he had undertaken. He appears, indeed, from this time to have more earnestly and more rigorously set himself to the study of the Scriptures. In those days the Scriptures were not unknown to the teachers of religion, as has been sometimes asserted, but the knowledge of them does not appear to have been general or exact. Wiclif's quotations from them were now more frequent; his expositions of them always exhibited them as the ultimate rule. It is probable that from this time we may date the establishment of his main doctrinal views, and also his departure from the received theology. It is not possible in our brief space to extract from the works that appear to belong to this period, but we may say that, if they have been correctly dated, he now distinctly set forth those truths which caused him to be branded as a heretic. His lectures on the Decalogue afford striking proofs of the clearness and vigour of his powers, and exhibit his leading views of religion with much distinctness. These views were very different from those generally received, and must have excited much surprise—much enmity, and much deep attachment. As we shall have to speak of his opinions more hereafter, we may conveniently leave any further remarks upon them for the present.

The papal claims occupied much of the attention of Edward III., especially in the latter part of his reign. An embassy had been sent to the pope, Gregory XI., in 1373, respecting the appointment of bishops, the reservation of benefices, and other matters in which Edward and his parliament declared that the pontiff had largely *encroached on the ancient customs*. Some partial *concessions* were made, but the English king was far

from being satisfied with the extent of them, and it was resolved in 1374 to send another embassy. The name of Wiclif stands second on the list of commissioners, the first name being that of the Bishop of Bangor, who had been employed in the previous negotiation; with them were united five other persons. The conference was held at Bruges, where the papal nuncios met them. Wiclif appears to have stayed in this city from August, 1374, till July, 1376. What results were obtained are not exactly known. For Wiclif himself the consequences were probably of much importance. At this time, it will be remembered, the pope's residence was at Avignon, and the papal court had attained to a rather bad eminence. It is not probable that, with his strong feelings of the responsibility of the office of a minister of religion, Wiclif would become more attached to the dignitaries of the church from the closer intercourse he would now have with them. His visit to Bruges may have produced as strong an impression on his mind as was wrought on that of Luther by his journey to Rome. In fact, according to Dr. Vaughan, "his rebukes, which had hitherto been directed toward the head of the church but distantly and by implication, are applied in that quarter, soon after this



ance. When he arrived it was between two of the powerful nobles in the land, one the king's eldest surviving son, the celebrated John of Gaunt, the other Lord Percy, the Lord Marshal of England. With Gaunt Wiclif probably became acquainted at Bruges, for, during his stay there, the duke had visited that city, as ambassador, to conduct some negotiations with the minister of the French monarch; and no doubt Wiclif, from his official position, would have some intercourse with him. The quarrel of the duke and of Lord Percy arose most likely from political rather than religious motives. The dignity of these nobles scarcely sufficed to procure an approach through the crowd to Courtney, bishop of London, who presided on the occasion. Some slight tumult occurred in making their way, which, being perceived by the bishop, he called out "Lord Percy, if I had known beforehand what masteries you would have kept in the church, I would have stopt you out from coming hither." In this rough salutation the Duke of Lancaster replied, "We shall keep such masteries here, though you say so." Percy desired Wiclif "to sit down, as he had many things to answer to, and needed to repose himself;" but the bishop declared it to be unreasonable for one cited before his ordinary should sit, and peremptorily affirmed that "he must and should stand." Gaunt replied that Percy's motion was but reasonable, and conceded, "As for you, my Lord Bishop, who are grown so proud and arrogant, I will bring down the pride not only of you, but of all the prelacy in England." The bishop rebuked him to "do his worst;" and after some further quarrelling, the duke vowed that sooner than submit to such words he would "pluck the bishop by the hair out of the church." The bystanders had been growing excited by these outrageous proceedings; and now, fancying the duke would proceed to violent acts, they rose in a body for their bishop, and the duke and his followers were compelled to a speedy flight. The Londoners, not content with driving the duke and his friends from the church, assembled in a tumultuous mob and proceeded to the palace, but he had made his escape, and they con-

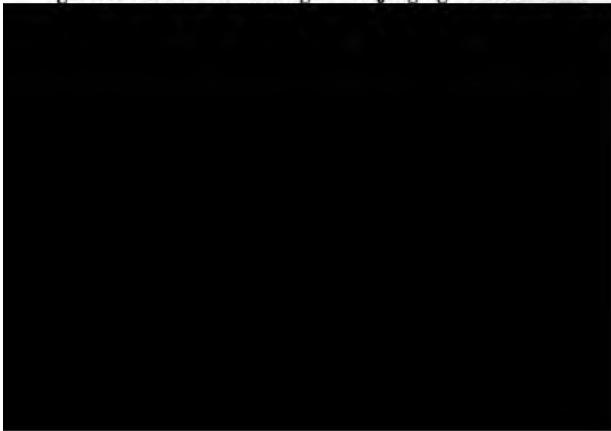
tented themselves with reversing his arms. They then proceeded to the house of Lord Percy, which they damaged, but they did not succeed in finding its owner: an unlucky priest, however, whom they found, and imagined to be Percy in an assumed habit, they hung. The mayor and aldermen were afterwards removed from their offices for not suppressing the riot, but none of the rioters appear to have been punished. It does not seem that Wiclif took any part in these discreditable proceedings, nor that the mob attempted to injure him. Of course, he would be far more obnoxious than ever to his opponents, and from this period they appear to have pursued him with more determined hate.

After this meeting Wiclif devoted himself to his parochial duties, but in a few months he was summoned from them to answer new charges. Probably some of his more inveterate enemies had forwarded to Rome statements of his heterodox notions, for on the 22nd of May, 1377, the pope issued four bulls against him, addressed respectively to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and the University of Oxford, and with these was sent a letter to the king, stating that information had been received from creditable persons



nication assumed by priests ; that absolutions are valueless except as they agree with the law of God ; and that the spiritual power of the ministers of religion does not differ in degree. These bulls vary only in trifling particulars. They impress alike on all to whom they are sent the urgent necessity of extirpating such detestable heresies, which they liken to those of Ganduno and Marcillus, condemned fifty years before by Pope John XXII. These men opposed the papal see on political grounds ; and it is plain from the tone of the bulls that it was the attack on his temporal authority that disconcerted Gregory. Before these documents could arrive Edward III. had ceased to live, and his decease afforded Wiclif a little breathing time. The other parties to whom they were addressed did not take any public proceedings in connexion with them till several months had elapsed. The University of Oxford seriously demurred at receiving the bull, and, when they had received it, took no steps for furthering the object of it. The Archbishop of Canterbury, however, had no such scruples ; he addressed a letter to the Chancellor of Oxford, directing him to make inquiries respecting the errors referred to in the papal mandate, and to forward to him the result of his investigations, with his own judgment thereon, sealed with the University seal : he also directs him to cite Wiclif to appear at St. Paul's to answer the charges, on the thirtieth court-day from the 18th of December, 1377. Wiclif appeared not at St. Paul's, but at Lambeth ; but the result was not more hurtful to him than on the previous occasion. Gaunt was no longer supreme in the court, but the reformer had now another friend there. The Dowager-Princess of Wales, the king's mother, at this time possessed much influence, and she used it on this occasion on Wiclif's behalf. The Londoners, too, appear to have been now as much opposed to the bishops as they had before been to Wiclif's friends. They attended, and, by their clamours against the proceedings, created much confusion ; and before the tumult could be appeased, a messenger from the princess commanded the bishops to abstain from any decision injurious to

Wiclif; they, as Walsingham indignantly says, "became soft as oil in their speech; so were they stricken with fear, you would think them as a man who hears not, or one in whose mouth are no reproofs." Before this convocation was held Wiclif had circulated an answer to the papal "conclusions;" which, somewhat altered or corrected, he put in at his trial. These modifications, and his answers or explanations to the "conclusions," have been declared to be "quibbles and evasions unworthy of a sensible or of an honest man." But the proofs adduced by the reverend historian, especially as coming from one so learned in the theology of the schools, are strangely inadequate to sustain so grave a charge. The explanations are undoubtedly strained, but the conclusions are strained too, and the whole bears the appearance of a scholastic wrangle. It would not be worth while to examine these answers here, could we afford the space, but we must repeat that to us they appear anything but evasive, although not consistent with our modes of reasoning. It does not appear that Wiclif had really expressed his opinions in anything like the form they bear in the pope's mandate; they were "conclusions" gathered out of his writings. In judging Wiclif in this



consequence to have thought it necessary to reassert the authority and infallibility of the pontiff in the strongest terms. Among other things he declared, according to Wiclif, that as the pope could not commit mortal sin, whatever he ordained must be just. To which Wiclif replied, that if so, he might remove any book from the Scripture, and introduce any novelty in its place; and thus, making the very Scripture heresy, establish heresy in its stead. From this Wiclif advances to more direct and stronger attacks on a power so enormous and so capable of abuse, and urges the more influential classes to cast off so intolerable a thralldom. He attacks with equal vigour his other positions, but the full swell of his indignation is reserved for the impious declaration that the pope and clergy could as fully absolve from sin as the Almighty himself. It is evident that he had now arrived at the point when he was prepared to oppose to the utmost the papal power.

That this power would soon have been brought to bear upon him, if Gregory had lived, is not to be doubted, but he was saved by the breaking out of the "Great Schism of the West." Pope Gregory XI. died on the 27th of March, 1378, and while the Italian cardinals elected and obeyed Urban VI., those attached to the interests of France chose Clement VII. Urban was acknowledged in England, but he had too much employment at home to prosecute an English heretic. For the next three years, therefore, Wiclif was left undisturbed. He spent most part of this time at Lutterworth, diligently pursuing the course he had already commenced.

The comparative tranquillity in which he now found himself, he left not unimproved. He had now resolutely bent the whole of his energy against the doctrine of the pope's infallibility, and he gladly seized the opportunity of exhibiting the absurdity of the tenet, afforded by the rival claimants. His 'Schism of the Popes,' which he now published, is a keen piece of controversy, and from the circumstances must have been very effective at the time it was produced. All reserve is now cast aside in his attacks on the rival heads of the church, whom he

contrasts with Christ and his apostles, and assimilates to Simon Magus.

From this time it may be said that he left the consideration of the political bearings of the papal usurpation, and directed his attention to the religious aspect of it. Henceforth, indeed, his writings and teaching were almost entirely religious. Very much of the confusion respecting Wiclif's opinions at various periods, and the support they gained for him from different parties of influence in the country, has arisen from inattention to the ground on which he received that support. The commencement of his career was signalized by his attacks on the mendicant friars. At that time they were opposed, as they had long been, as interlopers by the secular clergy, and Wiclif was hailed as a powerful champion by them and by the University of Oxford. Their admiration of him arose from *party* considerations, though his dislike to the friars rested on a far wider basis. During the greater part of the reign of Edward III. the king and the parliament were engaged in a determined struggle against papal encroachments. It was prolonged through the whole of his reign and the greater part of the reign of his successor, before it terminated successfully for



such priests. Nor is this an imaginary sketch. It appears to have been exactly the course of events in his life and teaching. His doctrinal views were either not propagated, or they did not attract much attention till the latter part of his life. Then a devoted band rallied round him, and, when those who had used him for temporary purposes had cast him off, they clung to him with an ever growing intensity of affection.

Nothing is more manifest in tracing his opinions than the increasing attention he gave to the Scriptures. In his last years they were the test to which he brought every doctrine, almost every opinion, or matter of practice. As his regard for the Scriptures increased, his anxiety to impart a knowledge of them to others increased also. At this time, of course, the version used in the church was the Latin Vulgate. There had been at various times portions of the Old and New Testament translated into the Saxon and English languages, but no complete translation had, it is probable, been made. Wiclif resolved to enable his countrymen to read the Word of God in their own tongue—a noble resolution nobly performed. Aided no doubt by some of the learned disciples who now surrounded him, he diligently commenced his undertaking, and in due time completed it. Before the invention of printing the publication of a book was a very different matter to what it now is. The only mode of making known the contents of a work then was by transcribing and circulating many copies, and this was the way in which Wiclif published his Bible. That it was diligently circulated there can be no question—from the number of copies of it remaining; and from the certainty that he would be anxious to diffuse as widely as possible the authority to which he so constantly appealed, and on the acknowledgment of which the acceptance of his views depended.*

Wiclif's version was not made from the original Greek, but from the Vulgate, of which it is a faithful represen-

* It is said, on the authority of Sir Thomas More, who

tation. The language is firm and nervous, and was no doubt perfectly intelligible at the time it was written. But nearly five centuries have passed since then, and many changes have taken place in our English. There is however, even now, little difficulty in understanding it, if the uncouth spelling be disregarded, and it is read with the pronunciation of the northern counties, as we have ascertained in several trials with different listeners. The New Testament has been three times printed : by the Rev. J. Lewis, the author of his *Life*, in 1731 ; by the Rev. H. H. Baber, in 1810 ; and again, and more carefully, in Bagster's '*Hexapla*,' 1841. This last work contains the six principal English translations from that of Wiclif to the Authorized Version ; and it is interesting to trace the influence of Wiclif's on all the succeeding versions. Most who examine them in this work, as they stand side by side, will agree with Professor Blunt, that "on comparing it with the authorized version of King James, it will be found that the latter was hammered on Wiclif's anvil." Besides its vast importance in a higher point of view, there can be no doubt that Wiclif's translation of the Scriptures did very much to fix our language. Except Mandeville's '*Travels*,' it was the first English prose



duty was to go about instructing the poor in the truths of the Gospel. They were to be unencumbered by worldly goods themselves, and they were not to acquire wealth for their order. They had no benefices, and the reasons for it he explained in a tract he promulgated, entitled 'Why poor priests have no benefices.' His principal reasons are—1. The fear of simony. 2. The danger of misspending the money of the poor. 3. The hope of doing more good by moving from place to place. Allowing for the difference of the times, they bear a strong resemblance to John Wesley's original "preachers;" and they were as effective. Wiclif was untiring in his labours; the amount of tracts he wrote is surprising, even allowing that he was much assisted in preparing them. His position and employment at this time were very similar to Luther's the years preceding his death. His pen was ever employed, and ever ready for fresh employment. But, important as were his own labours, it is probable that his poor priests did even more to diffuse his doctrines; and how widely they were diffused may be guessed from Knighton's angry assertion—taken as it may and ought to be with considerable abatement—that "his followers so increased that they everywhere filled the compass of the kingdom; insomuch that a man could not meet two people on the road, but one of them was a disciple of Wiclif." This, he affirms, arose from "the respect they always pretended for what they call 'Goddis Law,' to which they profess themselves to be in their opinions and actions strictly conformable."

While thus zealously employed in furthering the great purpose to which he had devoted himself, his life was an example of what he upheld as the character of a true priest. His conduct was unblameable, his attention to his pastoral duties unremitting. Three hundred of his sermons are said to be still remaining, and they fully prove his energy, fervour, and devotion—he was no idle, careless priest. Like Milton—who in many respects greatly resembled him—he believed that he who attempts a great work *must live a life worthy of his undertaking; and the whole of his own conduct, and the judgment he*

formed of others, were moulded by his exalted notion of the dignity of the priestly office.*

So long as Wiclif confined himself, in his attacks on the popes and their agents, to their political claims or their immoral conduct, he met with the support of the secular authorities; and also of the people, whose dislike of the papal supremacy was a national far more than a religious feeling. They could not endure that an Italian or a French priest should domineer over their country and their king, and they little liked that his representatives, though Englishmen, should usurp such power. They would not have a priest to rule over them. When Wiclif preached against the doctrinal errors of the popes, he was regarded with suspicion by those who had before most strenuously supported him, and soon indeed encountered from them strong opposition. In 1381 he published at Oxford his twelve "conclusions," in which he appears for the first time to have questioned the doctrine of transubstantiation. His view of it much resembled that of Luther, and which is still that of the Lutheran church. The Chancellor of Oxford immediately summoned a meeting of twelve doctors, who condemned the "conclusions" as heterodox, and adjudged that all who



from all their offices and privileges, and imprisoned—and, that the chance of such errors spreading might be at once cut off, they condemned those who listened to them to a similar punishment. Wiclif was lecturing in the school of the Augustinians when their sentence was communicated to him. He appealed from them to the civil magistrate. Until the parliament, to which the matter was now referred, should meet, which was not till the next year, it is probable that Wiclif abstained from teaching his views at the University, but he developed them more clearly and fully in some tracts which he now published: one of them, entitled the ‘Wicket,’ has been three or four times printed, and is a powerful piece of controversial writing.

The year 1381 was signalized by the revolt of the commons under Wat Tyler, and many of Wiclif’s enemies have with small success endeavoured to connect his name with that affair. It arose from causes sufficiently known to all acquainted with our history, and Wiclif is as little responsible for it, as Luther for the famous rise of the peasants after the publication of his doctrines. In May, 1382, Courtney, now Archbishop of Canterbury, summoned a council to consider the doctrines attribute to Wiclif. Eight bishops and fourteen doctors, with other learned persons, met on the 17th of May, at Grey Friars in London. The proceedings had scarcely commenced when the place in which they were assembled was shaken by an earthquake, to the great alarm of the doctors, who were disposed to attribute it to the Divine displeasure—an opinion in which Wiclif coincided. The archbishop, however, explained it differently, and the doctors, reassured, proceeded with their deliberations.* After three days’ careful consideration they pronounced ten of the “conclusions” to be heretical, and the remaining fourteen to be erroneous. The heretical notions being

* Courtney said it was a symbol of the need there was of purifying the church from the pestiferous vapours that hung over it; Wiclif, that the earth trembled because they were about to put a heresy upon Christ, as it before trembled when *they put his body to death.*

those on the eucharist, his denial of the need of priestly absolution, his declaration that clerical endowments were unlawful, and his condemnation of the papal infallibility. Everything was done that appeared likely to impart force and solemnity to this decision. After an imposing procession through London, a friar was appointed to explain to the people from St. Paul's the enormity of the heresy. Copies of the sentence were forwarded to the leading bishops; and even to the clergy about Lutterworth. Messengers were dispatched to the king, and to the University of Oxford. Wiclif again appealed to the secular power. This appeal has been complained of as opposed to his principles: after all, it has been said, "the new apostle was in no haste to grasp the crown of martyrdom."* But Wiclif did not depart from his own principles. He held and taught that the secular power ought to preserve the lives and liberties of the subjects, and it does not seem that he asked the parliament to affirm the truth of his doctrines. The archbishop called on the king to put down by force the growing heresy; and the monarch readily answered the call, by issuing a writ to the Chancellor of Oxford, directing him to search out such as were suspected of holding these opinions, and to

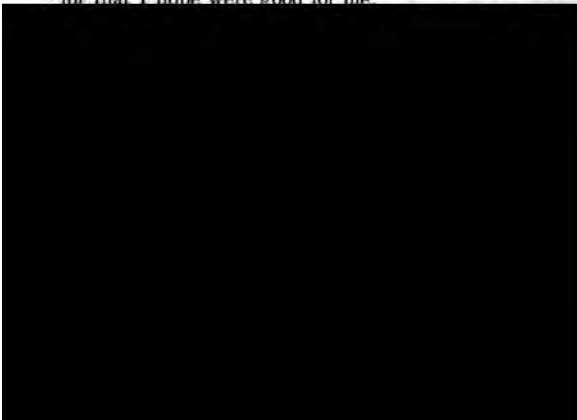


It was, in fact, a bold attempt of the bishop to use something very like the Holy Office into Eng-

Wickliff's success ended here. He was now left in the unequal conflict alone. His principal supporters at Oxford had been summoned before a synod for their own delinquencies, and had been compelled to retract or explain away their obnoxious sentiments. John of Gaunt no longer stood by him. Personally shocked at his venturing to question a doctrine as transubstantiation was then generally held to be, he earnestly recommended Wickliff to submit to his diocesan—and left him to his fate. Wickliff was summoned to appear before a convocation at Oxford, at which the archbishop presided, and several bishops were present. He delivered in two statements his sentiments on the eucharist; one in Latin, the other in English. The former is declared to be unintelligible—muddled about with all the forms of scholastic dialectics, say he passed by; the other, as it is in English, was only meant for the unlearned, and is plain and perfectly comprehensible. It is evident that his matured and deliberate views were the same as we have already seen them to be. His bearing before the assembly was firm and manly—his enemies say haughty and obstinate. He did not retract. The result was that his views were again condemned, and himself deprived of professorship of divinity, and banished from the University.

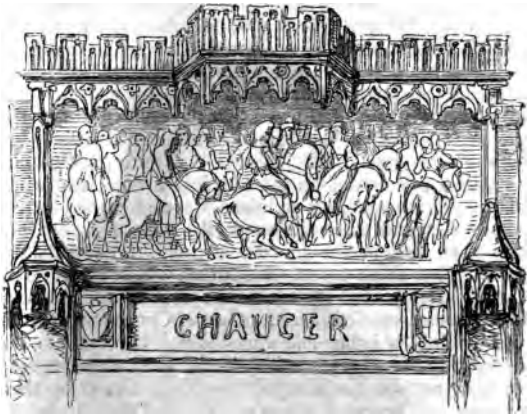
He was not further molested,—at least for the next years. This interval was busily employed. A host of opponents sprung up against him after the adjudication at Oxford, and he was not of a temper to let them pass unopposed. His intense energy was little impaired by anxiety, and his opponents still found him a ready antagonist. Bowed down by persecution, his life by its very nature made a living death, he wavered not, nor ceased his labours. During his last years Wickliff suffered from paralysis—the effect, no doubt, of his anxious and stormy life. His first attack was in 1379. Perhaps

the knowledge of his weak state prevented his enemies from pressing for the infliction of physical punishment. But a few months before his death he was cited by Urban II. to appear before him at Rome, to answer for his heresies. Wiclif was unable from illness to go, but he addressed a letter to his holiness in which he "tells his belief." The main points of it are his declaration of his entire dependence on Christ as the Son of God, and of his assurance of the supreme authority of Scripture. He acknowledges the pope to be Christ's chief vicar on earth—but adds, that he ought to follow the example of his master, who was the poorest of men when in this world. "This I take as wholesome counsel that the pope leave his worldly lordship to worldly lords, as Christ gave (charged) him, and move speedily all his clerks (clergy) to do so: for thus did Christ, and taught thus his disciples, till the fiend had blinded this world." He declares that if he were able he would go to the pope; but as he cannot, he supposes the pope will not show himself open anti-Christ by commanding him again to do that which God had rendered him unable to do. If his opinions can be proved to be wrong, he is ready to recant; if it be necessary to die for them, he is willing, "for that I hope were good for me."



taken up, burnt, and the ashes cast into the Swift, a little stream that runs at the foot of the hill on which the town is built. "Thus this brook," says Fuller, "hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, they into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wiclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which now is dispersed all the world over."

We have endeavoured, as far as our limits would allow us, to exhibit Wiclif according to his own principles. It remains for us to add a few words on his sentiments, and express our own impression of his character. His opinions have been the subject of much disputation, and it is often said that they are so enwrapped in explanations and mystifications, that it is difficult to make out what they really were. But to one desirous to understand them, the difficulty soon disappears. The contemporary notices of him do not imply that there was any obscurity: the charges brought against him; his own defences; the references his followers make to him, do not suggest it. That his opinions will appear contradictory to one who extracts from his different writings, without regard to the circumstances and the time in which each was written, there can be no doubt; but if it be borne in mind that his creed, like that of every reformer, and especially of every religious reformer, was progressive—that his opinions were slowly formed, often forced upon his conviction after a long struggle against them—so that he would more than any other lament the necessity imposed upon him to admit, and especially to diffuse them,—if this gradual formation of his creed be remembered, the difficulty of reconciling the articles of it with the statements and reasonings to be found in others of his writings, will not surprise any candid inquirer, whether he admit the truth of the opinions or not. To us it appears he might truly be called the first Protestant—the first who boldly and firmly protested against the papal domination, both in relation to society and to individual man. His doctrinal views were in the main those afterwards adopted by Luther and the reformed churches—in others, he went far beyond them,



Two undertakings of more than ordinary importance mark the second half of the fourteenth century, and sug-



CHAUCER



by little upon his mind. For this undertaking, he drew supplies from all quarters, but his levies were few, his treasure the accumulated stores of thought and time had bequeathed to the world. And when he mastered all that could thus be obtained, he went into the world to study men, as well as man, before he attempted the conquest of the empire he meditated, he hearts and minds of his fellows. And how these respective undertakings? Failures of course attended the ambitious student as well as the ambitious orator, but we have not in the one case, as in the other, heard of them; let us therefore look simply at the successes of both, and the results. The battle of Crecy, the first great encounter between the two nations, was fought in 1346, and in the same year the first important work of the first great English poet is understood to have been produced. Ten years later, Crecy had been followed by Poitiers; the 'Court of Love,' by the noble *Troilus and Cressida*; and by an announcement contained in the concluding lines of that work, which showed the poet had essayed and was satisfied as to his powers, that he was preparing to give to England a work that should be the divine comedy of the illustrious Italian (Dante) deceased. "Go, little book," wrote the poet—

"go, little tragedy,
Where God my maker, yet ere that I die,
So send me might to make some comedy."

Between sixteen or seventeen years more elapse, and the iron will of the sovereign bends beneath a fiat even more potent than his own, and in deep humiliation feels that he is again defeated; about the same time the poet is receiving from the lips of an illustrious contemporary an addition to the materials for the work that is to form the crowning point of his life and fame, the last of a long series of productions destined to be as permanent as the age itself which they have done so much to create, *Comedy*, in short, of which he has so long dreamed; he is hearing from Petrarch the exquisitely pathetic story of *Griselda*. Edward dies in 1377, a broken-hearted

man ; deserted, even on his palace-hearth, at the last hour, by those he had fed and clothed and honoured ; he who would have conquered France cannot even now command the presence of a single lackey : when Chaucer dies, it is amidst the profound regrets of all who knew him personally or through his works ; and as he goes " home " and takes his " wages," it is with the conviction that he has indeed done his " worldly task," in the foundation of what, all things considered, it is no national vanity to call the mightiest of Literatures. The parallel we have thus ventured to draw does not even end here. Whilst we still drink refreshing draughts from Chaucer's " well of English undefiled," and wonder to see how little of essentially differing qualities his greatest successors have infused into the national literature, the only effect, if there be any one now perceptible, of Edward's unjust attempt, or of his brilliant victories, is in the unhappy jealousy which these and similar events have left in the minds of the people who most suffered from them. Truly if the sword in its day is honoured at the expense of the pen, the pen in the long run repays itself with sweeping interest. We have said nothing in these remarks of the connexion between the two personages whose respec-



may tend to disturb existing beliefs. Unable to hold themselves, they would deny to others the use of the necessary foundations. Why, for instance, must there be a doubt excited as to the date of Chaucer's birth? Must of the old writers say it took place in the second year of the reign of Edward III., 1328, and their statement is supported by a host of indirect evidences, which show that it must have been about the time they mention. But it is urged, that when Chaucer, in 1386, gave his deposition in the controversy between Lord Burgo and Sir Robert Grosvenor relative to the right of using a certain coat-of-arms (an important part of Chaucer's biography, to which we shall subsequently refer), he described himself "of the age of forty and upwards," and as having borne arms for twenty-seven years. Do the doubters therefore abide by their own necessary inference that he was born in 1345, and become a soldier at the ripe age of thirteen? Not a whit; they acknowledge that such a date cannot be correct; it has even been pointed out that other persons who were examined at the same time are known to have been from ten to twenty years older than the depositions make them. Whatever, therefore, the explanation of the phrase "forty and upwards," it is clear that it is not to be received in contradiction of the date that makes the poet to have been in his fifty-fifth year. Yet the doubt is raised just the same! So again as to the place of Chaucer's birth. In his prose work, the 'Testament of Love,' where the poet is as evidently and avowedly referring to himself as poet well can, he speaks of the City of London that is "to me so dear and sweet, in which I was forth grown; and more kindly love have I to that place, than to any other in earth; as every kindly creature hath full appetite to that place of his kindly engendure, and to wilm [wish] rest and peace in that stead [place] to abide." But then as some biographers have mistaken various other passages in that work, this passage also is to be doubted, nay, the whole production laid aside as one that cannot be relied on. It is true, that for a comprehensive and trustworthy *Life of Chaucer* greater care must be shown in

the use of the somewhat perplexing materials that wait the biographer's disposal than ever yet has been shown, but it is not by a system of wholesale negation that the work will be accomplished. Nothing can come of nothing, and, trite as the observation may be, there are some few for whom it still seems requisite to be asserted. Not simply useless, but mischievous, is that kind of biography which delights to reduce what at all events looks like flesh and blood to a pure skeleton, and has no objection to take away even a bone or two from that.

Chaucer then was born in 1328, in London; and there doubtless he spent his earliest years, until, as he says, he was "forth-grown." Of his parents we know nothing direct. A long list of persons has been collected, who during the period in question bore the name of Chaucer, which was derived from the old Norman word *Chaucier* or *Chaussier*, signifying a shoemaker; and used in that sense during the poet's life by Richard of Hampole, a hermit, who translated the Gospel of St. Mark, and died in 1394. The passage, "There cometh one mightier than I after me, the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to stoop down and unloose," is thus rendered by Richard: "A stalworthier man than I shall come after me, of whom I am not worthy downfalling or kneeling to loose



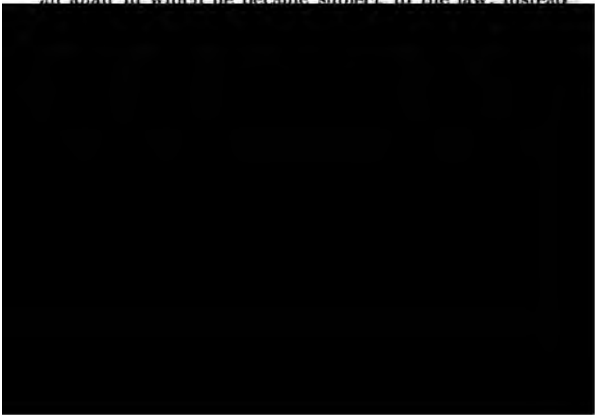
and that the poet here speaks his own sentiments, while relating the sentiments of the knight's apparently good and hideous bride, is clear from his bailed on the same subject, where it is inculcated that unless a man love virtue and fly vice,

"He is not gentle, though he rich seem,
All wear he mitre, crown, or diademe."

Where Chaucer was educated is uncertain; but the assertions of the older biographers that he was both at Cambridge and Oxford, and that he subsequently went to Paris, then the most famous and flourishing of all the European universities, is supported by the known facts in the lives of other eminent men, who became, like him, distinguished by their scholastic attainments. Grosstete, Roger Bacon, and Michael Scott, all pursued the exact study ascribed to Chaucer. The poet is supposed to refer to himself under the designation of "Philogenet of Cambridge, clerk," in the 'Court of Love,' and the indications of a correct knowledge of the locality exhibited in the Reve's Tale are referred to as an additional corroboration of his residence in the neighbourhood. Even the very college is named—Clare Hall—at which he studied, and where he may have written his earlier poems, including the 'Court of Love.' Clare Hall, Speght says, is the same with that mentioned in the Reve's Tale, under the denomination of the Soleres or Scholars'. It is to be hoped the licentious freaks of the scholars, as described in that tale, are not to be received as characteristic of the order at the period that Chaucer was a member.

Two of Chaucer's most intimate friends appear to have been the "moral Gower" and the "philosophical Strode," whose names he has thus embalmed in his verse; and both were members of the University of Oxford at the time that all three must have been engaged in the business of mental culture. To them he dedicated his 'Troilus and Cressida;' and the poem itself, which is said to have been written at Oxford, may have been composed while in the daily enjoyment of their society.

But whether it was Oxford, or some other place, that the poet left at the termination of his English academical studies, we may rest assured that Leland was essentially correct in his general statement when he wrote, "At the period of his leaving Oxford, he was already an acute dialectician, a persuasive orator, an eloquent poet, a grave philosopher, an able mathematician, and an accomplished divine. These no doubt are lofty appellations; but whoever shall examine his works with a curious eye, will admit that I have sufficient ground for my panegyric." But the touches of the "finishing school," it appears, from the same authority, were still requisite, and were obtained. Chaucer went to Paris, where "he imbibed all the beauties, elegance, charms, wit, and grace of the French tongue, to a degree that is scarcely credible." And thus accomplished, and possessing a handsome person, which must have been trained and developed into strength and activity by martial exercises, the young poet returned to England, and prepared to enter into the ordinary business of life, from which alone, it is probable, he thenceforward derived his chief or entire support. At first he entered into the study of the law, and became a member of the Inner Temple; but the only result was, an affair in which he became subject to the law. instead



that the palace halls of Windsor were thronged. To mention but two names, each sufficient to immortalize any court—there were then among the brilliant groups that surrounded Edward, his queen Philippa, the saviour of the illustrious citizens of Calais, and the Countess of Salisbury, the heroine of Froissart's charming narration, who not only resisted the king's unlawful love, but so purified the heart of the lover, that when the well-known accident happened at a ball, he founded the order of the Garter in her eternal honour: an act, all things considered, unequalled for its combination of chivalrous, poetical, and lover-like feeling.

It was among such personages the young poet desired to be, and his wishes were speedily gratified. And it is evident that he was at least as much admired as he could admire, notwithstanding his modest and retiring, if not even reserved habits. A pleasant tradition tells us that the Countess of Pembroke, the king's daughter, one of his patronesses, told him his silence created more mirth than his conversation; for he was very bashful and reserved in company, notwithstanding that life and spirit which appeared in his writings. But Chaucer had no desire to play the courtier—and he was understood. More than one of his poems are believed to have originated in conversations between the poet and the noble women who honoured themselves and him by taking an interest in his career. Thus, to appease them generally, when they professed to be offended by the strictures contained in some of his writings, he produced, at the command of Queen Philippa, 'The Legend of Good Women,' which, it has been pointedly observed, should rather be called 'The Legend of Bad Men.' Lydgate says—

"The poet wrote, at the request of the queen,
A Legend of perfect holiness;
Of good women to find out nineteen
That did excel in bounty and fairness;"

and the sly monk adds, for all his labour he found it impossible

“In all this world to find so great a number.”

How the poet obtained admittance to the court we know not. In the absence of any facts tending to show that he was by birth entitled to expect as a matter of course the remarkable favour that was accorded to him, we do not see why we may not fall back upon the agreeable hypothesis that it was not social rank (though he had as much of it as was indispensable), but intellectual merit that really introduced him there. At all events such a supposition is supported in a remarkable manner by the known nature of his connexion with the man who, next to Edward and his son the Black Prince, occupied in his time the largest share of the attention of the people of England: we refer to John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the fourth son of Edward, and of course, therefore, the brother of the prince just named.

Among the poems of Chaucer there are three which have been looked upon, and no doubt correctly, as illustrating the personal history of the duke as a lover and a husband. In the first of these, ‘The Complaint of the Black Knight,’ the poet, in a charming passage, describes himself as walking forth on a May morning, and meeting in an arbour the Black Knight who is bewailing the



wise than may be at first apparent. The 'Complaint of the Black Knight,' referring to the duke's courtship, and 'Chaucer's Dream,' referring to the duke's marriage, must have been written—the one a little before and the other a little after that marriage, which took place at Reading, in May, 1359, and was solemnized with great splendour. Knowing then the period and the circumstances of the production of these poems, we shall find, on looking at the one named 'Chaucer's Dream,' that we also know the essential history of the poet's own courtship and marriage. In the other two poems he is thinking chiefly of his friend and patron; in this one he makes all turn toward the expression of his own heartfelt wishes. In the 'Dream' he imagines himself in a lodge, beside a well in the forest, reposing after the fatigues of a hunt. The difficulties attending the courtship of the duke and duchess are then shadowed forth by an account of their death, and revival, ending in their union. Then follows a long and highly important passage, evidently, up to a certain point, narrating facts. After the marriage was determined upon, the royal lovers sent out messengers in all directions

"To kinges, queenes, and duchesses,
To divers princes, and princesses,"

inviting them to be present at the solemnity. Then, says the poet, they ordered that certain knights and squires and officers—

"In manner of an embassade,
With certain letters clos'd and made,
Should take the bargè and depart,
And seek *my lady* every part
Till they her found."

The duke and duchess* (Blanche) tell them to charge her to be there at the day; again and again Blanche de-

* Chaucer, perhaps to avoid letting the poems appear to the public too *strict a* narration of actual facts, calls them *here, and in various other places*, the king and queen.

sires to be commended to her, and she is to be told that, unless she come, all will be wasted,

“ And the feast but a business,
Withouten joy or lustiness.”

The emeoassy departs, and, after fourteen days, returns with the object of their search in the barge. The duchess, in her delight, cannot wait for her arrival at the court, but, says the poet, she met my lady on the sand, and clasped her in her arms. And for twelve hours after they parted not, but wandered alone, talking of their joys and troubles, with the pleasure natural to their young and tender years. And when night came, they still remained together. On the morrow the prince of lords

“ Came, and unto my lady said
Of her coming glad, and well apaid *
He was, and full right cunningly
Her thanked, and full heartily,
And laugh'd and smil'd, and said, ‘ Ywis
That † was in doubt, in safety is.’ ”

The marriage takes place, and then, continues the poet,

“ The prince, the queen, † and all the rest



At which she smiled, and said, 'Ywis
 I trow well he my servant is,
 And would my welfare, as I trist,*
 So would I his; and would he wist
 How; and I knewe that his truth
 Continue would, withouten sloth,
 And be such as ye here report.
 Restraining both courage and sport,
 I could consent at your request
 To be ynamed of your feast,
 And doen after your usance
 In obeying of your pleisance.
 At your request this I consent,
 To plesen you in your intent:
*And as the sovereign above,
 Commanded hath me for to love,
 And before others him prefer;*
 Against which prince may be no wer;†
 For his power o'er all reigneth,
 That other would for nought him paineth;
 And sith his will and yours is one,
 Contrary in me shall be none.' "

Here we have passed the boundaries of fact. That the lady had not yet said what the poet so delicately tells her she should say, much less that the marriage had taken place amidst all the ceremonies and gladness and splendour that he next so picturesquely describes, the poet presently proceeds to tell us. The sounds

"Round about, and in all the tents,
 With thousandès of instruments,"

trouble him in his sleep; he wakes, and finds no lady, alas! And now the mask, assumed for the moment, is dropped; he avows his prayer that his lady will accept of his service in such a manner that the substance of his dream may prove true, or that he may return into the same pleasant isle of fancy. And then, in direct appeal to her for grace (under the title of L'Envoy), he concludes the poem.

* Trust.

† War.

If we need any other evidence of the correctness of the idea that this poem records the poet's own feelings and position, and the position of the lady loved by him, we have only to inquire who it was that is known to have inspired such sentiments in his breast. She was the daughter of Sir Payne Roet, Guienne, king-of-arms, who is supposed to have come over from Hainault with Queen Philippa, after whom she may have been named, and in whose service she remained up to the day of the queen's death. This lady therefore was a member, and, as we know, a highly favoured one, of the household of the wife of John of Gaunt's brother. But the connexion may be traced still closer. Philippa Roet's sister Katherine, widow of Sir Hugh Swynford, was in the household of the duchess Blanche herself, the queen of Chaucer's dream, and it was that Katherine whom the great duke, later in life, married.

And what did the lady say, on the receipt of this poem, so exquisitely contrived and carried out? We know not, but may guess from subsequent circumstances that it was not very unfavourable. Suddenly, however, the sound of war rouses the lovers from all such dreamy delights. Edward, like a losing gamester, growing only



ought to belong to the said Sir Richard? Said yes, for he saw him so armed in France, before the town of Retters [apparently the village of Retiers, near Rennes, in Brittany], and Sir Henry Scrope armed in the same arms with a white label, and with a banner; and the said Sir Richard armed in the entire arms 'Azure, with a bend Or,' and so he had seen him armed during the whole expedition, until the said Geoffrey was taken. Asked, how he knew that the said arms appertained to the said Sir Richard? Said that he had heard say from old knights and esquires, that they had been reputed to be their arms, as common fame and the public voice proved; and he also said that they had continued their possession of the said arms; and that all his time he had seen the said arms in banners, glass, paintings, and vestments, and commonly called the arms of Scrope. Asked, if he had heard any one say who was the first ancestor of the said Sir Richard who first bore the said arms? Said no, nor had he ever heard otherwise than that they were come of ancient ancestry, and of old gentry, and used the said arms. Asked if he had heard any one say how long a time the ancestors of the said Sir Richard had used the said arms? Said no, but he had heard say that it passed the memory of man. Asked, whether he had ever heard of any interruption or challenge made by Sir Robert Grosvenor, or by his ancestors, or by any one in his name, to the said Sir Richard, or to any of his ancestors? Said no; but he said that he was once in Friday Street, in London, and as he was walking in the street, he saw hanging a new sign made of the said arms, and he asked what inn that was that had hung out these arms of Scrope, and one answered him and said, No Sir, they are not hung out for the arms of Scrope, nor painted there for those arms, but they are painted and put there by a knight of the county of Chester, whom men call Sir Robert Grosvenor; and that was the first time he ever heard speak of Sir Robert Grosvenor, or of his ancestors, or of any other bearing the name of Grosvenor."

Chaucer says he had been armed twenty-seven years;

this means, according to the then prevalent mode of speaking of such matters, that in 1359, twenty-seven years before the date of the deposition, 1386, Chaucer had *first* borne arms. He says also, he was in France, in one of the military expeditions of the time. Now as 1359 is the very year in which Edward took a great army into that country, and as for three years before and for ten years after, there was no other such expedition set on foot, and as when fresh ones were despatched we know the poet was not concerned in them, but was differently engaged—why, on the whole, the inference is irresistible, that it was in Edward's expedition of 1359 that Chaucer first became a soldier.

And that expedition was one calculated to test most searchingly his possession of the soldier's best quality, fortitude, though not at all calculated to make him enamoured of the vocation. The expedition throughout exhibited to him only the shades of military life, without a glimpse of its sunshine. A more formidable army had never perhaps left the English shores—certainly had never left it to meet so melancholy a fate; it comprised a hundred thousand men, and filled a thousand ships during the passage from coast to coast. And if for a



quite unable to force his way in; so, harassed by insufficient supplies of provisions, he presently retreated towards Brittany. Every step of his way was marked by falling horses and men, who died from hunger or the intolerable fatigue to which they were subjected. No wonder that the spirits of the troops sank, and that Edward's own mind was so affected that he became superstitious, and yielded, beneath the terror of a great storm, the peace that not all the miseries of his own subjects, and the infinitely greater miseries they had inflicted on the French people, could wring from him. On the 8th of May, 1360, the treaty of Bretigny was concluded; Bretigny being a village near to Chartres. Of the greater part of the horrors of the expedition Chaucer was an eyewitness and participator, with the additional pang added that, as he himself tells, he was "taken" prisoner. How long he remained in captivity it is impossible to say; but there is reason to fear that the period may have even extended to five or six years. From 1359-60 to a little before 1366 his history is a blank to us; and the next circumstance we find related of him looks very like the greetings of his friends and of his sovereign after a prolonged and painful absence. In or before 1366 he received the hand of Philippa Roet, who, on the 12th of September in that year, was granted, by Edward, a pension of ten marks for life, by the name of Philippa Chaucer; and on the 20th of June in the following year, we find her husband holding a post (that of valet) in the king's household, corresponding to hers in the queen's, and enjoying that king's especial favour, as expressed by a grant of twenty marks yearly, in consideration of his former and future services. It is tolerably evident from all this, that it was not through the exertions of his own friend and patron John of Gaunt, or through the existence of any particular private desire to aid him in the minds of the still more influential friends and patrons of his wife, that the poet thus succeeded in establishing a position for himself in the world. The reward looks as though it were apportioned simply to the *amount of the desert*; and through all Chaucer's subse-

quent and highly distinguished career we shall find the same characteristic prevailing in the treatment of him. Or if there be any discrepancy, it is that the rewards on the whole seem to fall short rather than to exceed what might be supposed the legitimate amount. The king's grant to Chaucer was to last for life, or until he should be otherwise provided for. The promise here held out to the poet was not long left unredeemed. In 1370 he was sent abroad on the king's service; and—having been raised to the rank of one of the king's own squires—again in 1372, when he went to Genoa, to treat on the subject of the choice of a port in England where the Genoese might form an establishment. In 1376 a secret mission, and the nature of which still remains secret, was intrusted to him and Sir John Burley. In 1377 he accompanied Sir Thomas Percy on another secret mission to Flanders, and in the same year is supposed to have been concerned in the negotiations for peace with France; all missions of an important nature, and all comprised within the period of the life of Edward. But change of monarchs made no change in this respect; the poet's abilities, character, and services were sufficient to command the respect and attention of Edward's successor. One of the earliest events of the new reign was the appointment



truth of which one would be glad to be satisfied of, rests upon the following evidence:—Chaucer, in the prologue to the *Clark's Tale*, makes the clerk say,

“I will you tell a tale, which that I
 Learned at Padua, of a worthy clerk,
 As proved by his wordes and his work.
 He is now dead and nailed in his chest;
 I pray to God so give his soule rest.
 Francis Petrarch, the laureate poete,
 Highte this clerk, whose rhetoric sweet
 Illumined all itaile of poetry.”

Now Boccaccio was the author, in the Italian language, of the story in question, ‘*Griseida*’; and why did Chaucer, if he is not referring to an actual and highly interesting incident of his own history, make the clerk go out of his way to speak of Petrarch, who only translated, in Latin, Boccaccio’s work? No one supposes that Chaucer was ignorant of the existence or nature of the writings of Boccaccio; and the only answer given to Godwin, who put the foregoing question, is, that Chaucer may not have been acquainted with the Italian language, and therefore preferred acknowledging an obligation to Petrarch, whose translation alone had enabled him to become familiar with the tale. It might be so; though it is not very likely. Not only was Chaucer, as we have seen, distinguished in youth for the depth and universality of his attainments, but had been at least twice an ambassador to Italy. The strong probability therefore is, that he did know the language, and was perfectly well acquainted with the ‘*Decameron*’ (the exemplar of his own *Canterbury Tales*) in its mother tongue, but that having met Petrarch, *who was at Arquà near Padua* at the very time that Chaucer was in the neighbourhood, he could not tell the tale he had then heard, under such remarkable circumstances, without a passing record of them.

That same Genoese embassy involved important consequences as regarded the fortunes of the poet. On the 8th of June, 1374, only a few months after his return, Edward conferred upon him the lucrative and distin-

guished office of comptroller of the customs for wool, &c. But the king had not waited until that time to show what he thought of Chaucer's conduct; he had already conferred upon him a marked testimony of his approbation; and at a time and under circumstances that make the blood stir, and the imagination busy itself in a thousand vain attempts to picture what might have been from the knowledge of what was. On St. George's day, the 23rd of April, 1374, when the king would be sitting in high and solemn festival, surrounded by all the chief nobility of the land, and when Chaucer, as one of his own squires, would, as a matter of duty and office, be in attendance on him, Edward conferred upon the poet the grant of a pitcher of wine to be supplied to him daily for life. In the very same year, and after the appointment to the customs, John of Gaunt, as if desiring to show how deeply he sympathised in the poet's prosperity, still further swelled his income by a grant of ten pounds for life. The following year, 1375, brought also its own good gifts, in the shape of two wardships, granted by Edward; from one of which Chaucer received 104*l.*, equivalent, according to Godwin's estimate of the comparative value of money then and now, to about some eighteen hundred



while its author held the office of comptroller: and a very agreeable information it gives to us of the poet's habits. Jupiter, who addresses the poet personally, tells him he is aware he attends nothing now to tidings abroad, nor of nothing else—not even

“of thy very neighbours
That dwellen almost at thy doors,
Thou hearest neither that nor this—
*For when thy labour all done is,
And hast made all thy reckonings,
Instead of rest, and of new things,
Thou goest home to thine house anon,
And all so dumbe as a stone
Thou sittest at another book,
Till fully dazed is thy look,
And livest thus as a hermite,
Although thine abstinence is lite,** &c.

the love of good living, here acknowledged, we may trace the origin of that goodly bulk upon which Harry Wyllyngboure, in the ‘Canterbury Tales,’ banters the poet. “Ware,” he calls out to the pilgrims,

“Ware you, sirs, and let this man have place;
He in the waist is shapen as well as I:
This were a poppet in an arme to embrace
For any woman.”

Through the same medium the poet describes himself as accustomed to look on the ground, to be “elvish” of countenance, silent, and reserved. We need only add to these traits another, also on the best of authorities—his own—namely, the love of walking, and enjoyment of all sights and sounds of natural phenomena. In his legend of Good Women’ he writes—

“And as for me, though that I can but lite,*
On bookes for to read, I me delight,
And to them give I faith and full credence
And in mine heart have them in reverence,
So heartily, that there is game none
That from my bookes maketh me to gone;

* Little.

But it be seldom on the holyday,
Save certainly when that the month of May
Is comen, and that I hear the fowles* sing,
And that the flowres 'ginnen for to spring,
Farewell my book and my devotion."

In 1386 the people emphatically marked their approbation of him whom kings had delighted to honour, by electing Chaucer to parliament as a knight of the shire for Kent. But, in all probability, that honour destroyed the poet's peace. Misfortunes began from this time to fall thickly upon him. Within two months after the meeting of parliament he was deprived of the comptrollérship, as well as the comptrollership of the petty customs, that had been conferred by Richard II. four years before; and we are utterly in the dark as to the cause. Tyrwhitt, Godwin, and others have built up an elaborate hypothesis, as to his connexion with the civic commotion in London in 1384, when John of Northampton stood for the office of mayor in opposition to the court candidate; and which ended, they say, as concerned the poet, in his expatriation to Zealand, in his enduring great sufferings there, in his return to England in 1386, and in his committal to the Tower, until 1389. All these presumptions,



sition was headed by the Duke of Gloucester, a brother of John of Gaunt, and it succeeded; De la Pole was dismissed, impeached, and imprisoned; and, finally, the successful party demanded and obtained from Richard a council for the government of the nation. There would be little relish then for the advice, little sympathy with the conduct of a man who in his writings was accustomed, whilst bidding the people to obey the king and the law, also to say to their governors—

“Knight, let thy *deedes* worship determine,”

and

“Go forth, king, and rule thee by sapience;”

and who was in religion a Wickliffite.

In struggles between ambitious nobles and a king who desired to be despotic, a man of independent character might easily give deep offence to those against whom he acted, and without particularly pleasing those who might look upon him generally as their supporter; and that Chaucer appears to have done. He was made the victim of the one, and received no compensating benefits from the other. So, in 1388, he was compelled to sell two of his pensions, which were accordingly assigned to John Scalby. His wife's pension had ceased with the life of her to whom it had been granted. The last payment to Philippa Chaucer took place in June, 1387. She died therefore within a twelvemonth after the events that plunged them both in adversity.

In 1389, Richard, then in his twenty-second year, suddenly dismissed Gloucester, and confided the administration to another uncle, the Duke of York, and to a cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke, the son of John of Gaunt, who during all these changes was on the Continent endeavouring to establish for himself a Spanish sovereignty. Within two months after that change, Chaucer was appointed Clerk of the Works at the king's chief palaces, at a salary of two shillings a day, and in the course of his duties he had to superintend the onerous but honourable and gratifying task of repairing St. George's Chapel, Windsor. But again he was dismissed, after about two years' service; unless, indeed, which is pos-

sible rather than probable, that he, in order to carry out his literary views, had himself determined to retire finally from all public employment. He was now sixty-three years old; the "Comedy" over which he had so long pondered, and which was to contain the accumulated wealth of his genius, wisdom, and experience, was still unwritten, except in parts, and he had evidently long desired to abstract himself from mere worldly avocation. Thus in 1384 he had obtained from Richard a relaxation of Edward's stringent regulation, that he should not nominate a deputy, and in the very year that he ceased to hold his architectural appointments he had caused John Elmhurst to officiate for him. At all events, the years 1393, 1394, 1395, are supposed to have been those of the production of the 'Canterbury Tales' (which are known to have been produced after Jack Straw's insurrection, as that occurrence is mentioned in them), and we see no reason to disturb the supposition. Woodstock, a royal seat, was, according to tradition, the scene of the poet's labours on this his greatest work, as well as of others of an earlier date. In the scientific treatise addressed by Chaucer to one of his two sons, Lewis, who appears to have died young, there does appear something like evidence that Chaucer was living in the neighbourhood of Oxford when he composed that piece, which contains the date of 1391. Chaucer there speaks of the astrolabe he has "compounded after the latitude of Oxford." But there is really so little tangible knowledge concerning the poet's residence either at Woodstock or at Donnington Castle, that it is best to rest content with the fact that tradition does say Chaucer resided at both, and that at Donnington he planted the three oaks known respectively as Chaucer's oak, the king's oak, and the queen's. But then tradition must not be too exacting—must not also ask us to believe that the poet wrote several of his poems beneath the shade of one of the trees he had planted. It must have been a most precocious tree else.

In deep gloom, much we fear, the poet spent the latter hours of his day of life, though not without a sudden lighting up of the horizon ere the close, as if to surround his passage into the grave with something of the glory

should attend the sunset of such a life. Sir Harris Nicolas has collected together in his work (to which we refer for the particulars) facts of the deepest interest, as showing that he was in poverty, sheer unmisgiving poverty, from 1394 to 1398. And yet John of Gaunt had not only returned to England, but had married the sister of the poet's wife, through which marriage therefore Chaucer became connected with the royal court of England. Was the poet too proud to make known the real state of his affairs? In 1398 Richard II, whom sympathy and admiration for Chaucer seem to have been the mere occasionally recurring whim of the monarch, did again so far remember the poet as to confer upon him another grant of wine, more valuable than the first, delivered by the poet's own son, Thomas, who had risen to the rank of chief butler. In 1399 Richard II deposed, and Bolingbroke became king of England; and within four days the pension of twenty marks that Richard had granted to Chaucer in 1394 (six years after the date of the two pensions formerly possessed by him) was doubled, leaving him, on the whole, the recipient of an income from the crown amply sufficient for all his needs. He now took a lease of a house situated in a street adjoining Westminster Abbey, and there probably died, on the 25th of October, 1400. He was buried in Westminster Abbey, and it is only fitting that the Corner, like English poetry itself, should date its origin from Geoffrey Chaucer. As a poet, he needs no epitaph, but whenever we do—what has been often done—rebuild his monument in the Abbey, we need no nobler testimony of his character as a man to be based on it, than the ballad with which we conclude, which was written by him, as the affecting title states, "he lay upon his death-bed in 'great anguish':"

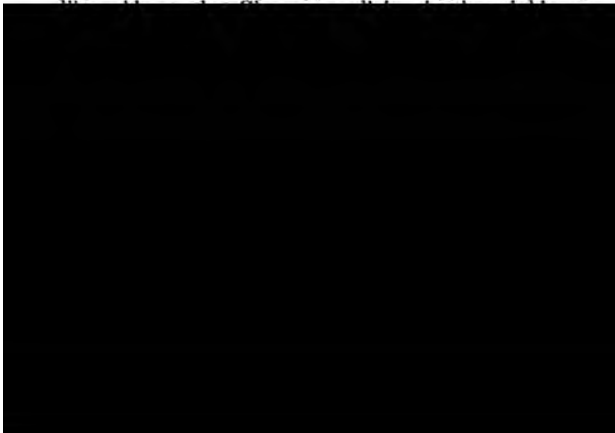
Fly from the press,* and dwell with soothfastness,†
 In office unto thy good, though it be small,
 For he that hath hate, and climbing tickleness;
 That raise hath envy, and weal is blent over all;
 Labour‡ no more than thee behoveth shall;

* Crowd.

† Truth.

‡ Taste.

sible rather than probable, that he, in order to carry out his literary views, had himself determined to retire finally from all public employment. He was now sixty-three years old; the "Comedy" over which he had so long pondered, and which was to contain the accumulated wealth of his genius, wisdom, and experience, was still unwritten, except in parts, and he had evidently long desired to abstract himself from mere worldly avocation. Thus in 1384 he had obtained from Richard a relaxation of Edward's stringent regulation, that he should not nominate a deputy, and in the very year that he ceased to hold his architectural appointments he had caused John Elmhurst to officiate for him. At all events, the years 1393, 1394, 1395, are supposed to have been those of the production of the 'Canterbury Tales' (which are known to have been produced after Jack Straw's insurrection, as that occurrence is mentioned in them), and we see no reason to disturb the supposition. Woodstock, a royal seat, was, according to tradition, the scene of the poet's labours on this his greatest work, as well as of others of an earlier date. In the scientific treatise addressed by Chaucer to one of his two sons, Lewis, who appears to have died young, there does appear something



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Rede* well thyself that other folk canst rede
And truth thee shall deliver, it is no drede.

Paine thee not each crookèd to redress,
In trust of her that turneth as a ball,
Great rest standeth in little business ;
Beware also to spurn against a nall,†
Strive not as doth a crocke with a wall ;
Doomé thyself that doonest others dede,
And truth thee shall deliver, it is no drede.

That‡ thee is sent, receive in buxomness,§
The wrestling of this world asketh a fall ;
Here is no home, here is but wilderness ;
Forthe pilgrim, forthe beast out of thy stall,
Look up on high, and thanke God of all,
Waivè thy lusts, and let thy ghost|| thee lead,
And truth thee shall deliver, it is no drede."

* Counsel. † Nail. ‡ That which.
§ Obedience, patience. || Spirit, or inward monitor.





William of Wykeham.

It is an old tradition, perhaps not worthy of much credit, that upon the wall of a tower in Windsor Castle, as the Winchester Tower, was inscribed "This made Wykeham." The great churchman raised this as the architect of Windsor Castle, working under the commands of his patron Edward III. It is further said that the king being offended at this inscription, the obvious meaning was dexterously explained, seeing that it should be interpreted to record that the building of the castle was "the making" of the architect. There are other proud edifices still remaining which might be inserted "This made Wykeham" in the most complete sense. No man ever left more permanent traces of his course and character. The tower of Winchester College, and of New College, Oxford,—the builder of the noblest part of Winchester

Cathedral,—had a title to be called their “maker,” with no king or subject to dispute his pretensions. He was one of the very few men who, having raised themselves by their abilities and integrity to riches and honour, worked not sordidly for themselves to heap up treasure, but nobly employed their wealth in works of the highest public utility. The life of such a man is for example. William De Wykeham, or Of Wykeham, was born at Wykeham or Wickham, in Hampshire, in the year 1324, and, as his biographer Bishop Lowth has shown, some time between the 7th of July and the 27th of September. There is reason to believe that he did not take his name from his native village, the same name being borne by several of his relations living in his own day, who do not appear to have been born there. All that is certainly known about his father and mother is that their Christian names were John and Sybil: if his father bore the name of Wykeham, he appears to have also passed by that of Long or Longe, and to have had an elder brother who was called Henry Aas.

Lowth thus sensibly remarks upon this obscurity of the name of so distinguished a man:—“If we consider the uncertain state of family-names at the time of the birth of Wykeham, we shall not think it strange that



lated motto which he added to his arms (of which probably he might have received a grant when he began to rise in the world) I imagine was intended by him to intimate something of this kind: *Manners makyth Man*: the true meaning of which, as he designed it, I presume to be, though it has commonly been understood otherwise, that a man's real worth is to be estimated not from the outward and accidental advantages of birth, rank, and fortune, but from the endowments of his mind and his moral qualifications. In this sense it bears a proper relation to his arms, and contains a just apology for those signs of his newly acquired dignity. Conscious to himself that his claim to honour is unexceptionable, as founded upon truth and reason, he in a manner makes his appeal to the world; alleging that neither high birth, to which he makes no pretensions, nor high station, upon which he does not value himself, but

“Virtue alone is true nobility.”

He was put to school at Winchester, not by his father, who had not the means, but by some wealthy patron, who is traditionally said to have been Nicholas Uvedale, lord of the manor of Wykeham and governor of Winchester Castle. The tradition further asserts that, after leaving school, he became secretary to Uvedale; and that he was secretary to the constable of Winchester Castle is stated in a written account compiled in his own time. Afterwards he is said to have been recommended by Uvedale to Edyngton, bishop of Winchester, and then by those two friends to have been made known to King Edward III. There seems to be no reason for supposing that he ever studied at Oxford, as has been affirmed by some of the later writers of his life. It is evident, indeed, that he had not had a university education, and that he never pretended to any skill in the favourite scholastic learning of his age. His strength lay in his natural genius, in his knowledge of mankind and talent for business; and probably the only art or science he had much cultivated was architecture.

He is said in an ancient contemporary account to have

been brought to court when he was no more than three or four and twenty, which would be about the year 1348 ; but the earliest office which there is the evidence of records for his having held, is that of clerk of all the king's works in his manors of Henle and Yesthampsted, his patent for which is dated 10th of May, 1356. On the 30th of October in the same year he was made surveyor of the king's works at the castle and in the park of Windsor. It is affirmed by a contemporary writer to have been at his instigation that King Edward pulled down and rebuilt great part of Windsor Castle. Wykeham had the sole superintendence of the work. Queenborough Castle, in the Isle of Sheppy, was also built under his direction.

The king now began to reward him bountifully. He had probably taken deacon's orders at an early age ; Lowth finds him designated ' clericus,' or clerk, in 1352. It was not, however, till the 5th of December, 1361, that he was admitted to the order of acolyte : he was ordained sub-deacon on the 12th of March, 1362, and priest on the 12th of June following. Meanwhile his first ecclesiastical preferment, the rectory of Pulham in Norfolk, had been conferred upon him by the king's presentation on the 20th of November, 1357. On the 1st of March



treaty of Bretigny was solemnly confirmed by the oaths of Edward and King John of France. Numerous additional preferments in the church were heaped upon him in the course of the next three years. By June, 1363, moreover he had been appointed to the office of warden and justiciary of the king's forests on this side Trent. On the 14th of March, 1364, he had by royal grant an assignment of twenty shillings a-day out of the exchequer. On the 11th of May, 1364, he was made keeper of the privy seal, and soon after he is styled secretary to the king, or what we should now call principal secretary of state. In May, 1365, he was commissioned by the king, with the chancellor, the treasurer, and the Earl of Arundel, to treat of the ransom of the King of Scotland (David II., taken at the battle of Nevil's Cross in 1346), and the prolonging of the truce with the Scots. And not long after this he is designated, in a paper printed in the 'Fœdera,' chief of the privy council and governor of the great council, which phrases, however, Lowth supposes do not express titles of office, but only the great influence and authority which he had in those assemblies. "There are several other preferments, both ecclesiastical and civil," adds Lowth, "which he is said to have held; but I do not mention them, because the authorities produced for them are such as I cannot entirely depend upon. And, as to his ecclesiastical benefices already mentioned, the practice of exchanging them was then so common, that 'tis hard to determine precisely which of them he held altogether at any one time." There is extant, however, an account given in by himself on occasion of the bull of Pope Urban V. against pluralities, of the entire number and value of his church benefices, as the matter stood in the year 1366; and from this statement, in which Wykeham calls himself "Sir William of Wykeham, clerk, archdeacon of Lincoln, and secretary of our lord the illustrious King of England, and keeper of his privy seal, it appears that the total produce of those which he had held when the *account was demanded* was 873*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*,

and of those of which he remained in possession when it was given in, 842L."

Froissart, speaking of the English court at this period, says, "At this time reigned a priest called William of Wykeham. This William of Wykeham was so much in favour with the King of England, that everything was done by him, and nothing was done without him."

Upon the death of William de Edyngton, on the 8th of October, 1366, Wykeham was immediately, upon the king's earnest recommendation, elected by the prior and convent of Winchester to succeed him as bishop of that sec. He was not consecrated till the 10th of October in the year following; but this delay, till an adjustment was effected of the conflicting pretensions of the royal authority and the court of Rome, was evidently occasioned, as Lowth has shown, only by a contention between the king and the pope as to which of them should have the largest share in Wykeham's promotion. Meanwhile he had been appointed by the king lord high chancellor of England; he was confirmed in that office on the 17th of September, 1367.

He continued chancellor till the 14th of March, 1371,



caster, to whose influence the removal of the clergy from the offices of state is said to have been owing.

With reference to the complaint that men of the church filled high civil offices, Lowth observes, "The truth of the matter seems to be, that the laity in general looked with an evil eye upon the clergy, who had of late filled for the most part the great posts of honour and profit in the state; which, as it was obvious to remark, neither lay within their province nor were suitable to their function and character. The practice, however improper in itself and liable to objection, yet seems to have taken its rise from the necessity of the times: the men of abilities had for a long time been chiefly employed abroad in the wars; this was the most open road to riches and honours, and every one was pushing forward in it. Besides, it was not at any time easy to find among the laity persons properly qualified, in point of knowledge and letters, to fill with sufficiency some of the highest offices. We see the king was now obliged to have recourse to the lawyers: they gave as little satisfaction as the churchmen had done; and in a few years it was found necessary to discharge them, and to call in the churchmen again."

At the period of Wykeham's election to the see of Winchester, the bishops of that diocese had no fewer than twelve different castles or palaces, all furnished and maintained as places of residence. Wykeham's first undertaking after he found himself in possession of the see was to set about a thorough repair of these episcopal houses.

To these palaces or castles the bishops of Winchester resorted in turns, "living, according to the custom of those times, chiefly upon the produce of their own estates. So great a demand as the bishop had upon his predecessor's executors for dilapidations could not very soon or very easily be brought to an accommodation; however, the account was at last settled between them without proceeding on either side to an action at law. In the first place they delivered to him the standing stock of the bishopric due to him by right and custom:

namely, 127 draught-horses, 1556 head of black cattle, 3876 weathers, 4777 ewes, 3521 lambs: and afterwards for dilapidations, in cattle, corn, and other goods, to the value of 1662*l.* 10*s.* sterling."

Before his repairs were accomplished, Wykeham had disbursed twenty thousand marks of his own revenue. This energetic improver also applied himself with great zeal and diligence to the reformation of abuses in the monasteries and religious houses of all sorts throughout his diocese. The ancient hospital of St. Cross, at Sparkeford, near Winchester, founded in 1132 by the famous Bishop Henry de Blois, brother to King Stephen, in particular engaged much of his attention, and the objects of the charity were indebted to his persevering exertions for the restoration of many rights and benefits which they had originally enjoyed, but of which they had been for a long time defrauded.

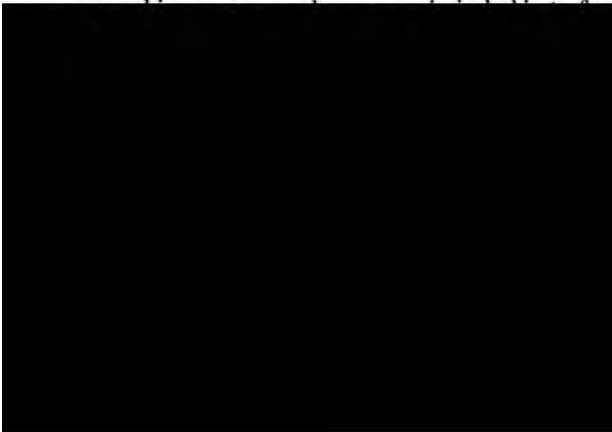
In 1373 a school at Winchester, founded wholly by the munificence of this high-minded prelate, was first opened. The history of the endowment and completion of Winchester College, and of New College at Oxford, for which Winchester is preparatory, is so well told by Lowth, that we transcribe his narrative and just remarks without abridgement:—



were at present observed by any of them. This reflection affected him greatly, and inclined him to take the resolution of distributing his riches to the poor with his own hands, rather than employ them in establishing an institution which might become a snare and an occasion of guilt to those for whose benefit it should be designed. After much deliberation and devout invocation of the Divine assistance, considering how greatly the number of the clergy had been of late reduced by continual wars and frequent pestilences, he determined at last to endeavour to remedy, as far as he was able, this desolation of the church, by relieving poor scholars in their clerical education; and to establish two colleges of students, for the honour of God and increase of his worship, for the support and exaltation of the Christian faith, and for the improvement of the liberal arts and sciences; hoping and trusting that men of letters and various knowledge, and bred up in the fear of God, would see more clearly and attend more strictly to the obligation lying upon them to observe the rules and directions which he should give them. Wykeham seems to have come to this resolution, and in some measure to have formed in his mind his general plan, as early as his becoming Bishop of Winchester; for we find that in little more than two years after, he had made purchases of several parcels of ground in the city of Oxford, which make the chief part of the site of his college there. His college of Winchester, intended as a nursery for that of Oxford, was part of his original plan; for as early as the year 1373, before he proceeded any further in his design for the latter, he established a school at Winchester, of the same kind with the former, and for the same purpose. He agreed with Richard de Herton, that for ten years, beginning from Michaelmas of the year above mentioned, he should diligently instruct in grammatical learning as many poor scholars as the bishop should send to him, and no others without his leave; that the bishop should provide and allow him a proper assistant; and that Herton, in case of his own illness or necessary absence, should substitute a proper master to supply his place.

“Wykeham’s munificence proceeded always from a constant generous principle, a true spirit of liberality. It was not owing to a casual impulse or a sudden emotion, but was the effect of mature deliberation and prudent choice. His enjoyment of riches consisted in employing them in acts of beneficence, and while they were increasing upon him, he was continually devising proper means of disposing of them for the good of the public, not delaying it till the time of his death, when he could keep them no longer, nor leaving to the care of others what he could better execute himself; but forming his good designs early, and, as soon as he had the ability, putting them in execution, that he might have the satisfaction of seeing the beneficial effects of them, and that by constant observation and due experience he might from time to time improve and perfect them, so as to render them yet more beneficial.”

The pious and patriotic exertions of the good bishop were interrupted for a time by a political storm which rose against him in 1376, the last year of the reign of Edward III. He had been appointed one of the council established to superintend the conduct of affairs on the petition of the parliament which met in April of that

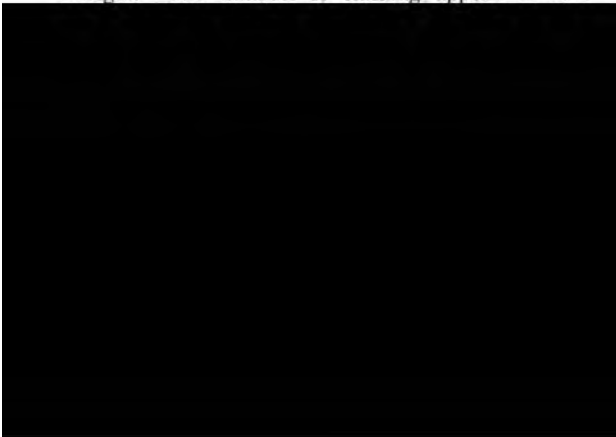


at the utmost a mere irregularity ; and upon this, under the influence that then prevailed at court, an order was immediately issued for the sequestration of the revenues of his bishopric, and he was at the same time forbidden, in the king's name, to come within twenty miles of the court. The next parliament, which met on the 27th of January, 1377, was wholly devoted to Lancaster ; and when, soon after, on the petition of the Commons, an act of general pardon was issued by the king, in consideration of its being the year of his jubilee, the Bishop of Winchester alone was specially excepted out of its provisions. All this, in the circumstances of the time, may be taken as the best attestation to Wykeham's patriotism and integrity. His brethren of the clergy, however, assembled in convocation, now took up his cause with great zeal ; and, whether in consequence of their bold representations on the subject to the king, or for some other reason, it was soon deemed expedient to drop the proceedings against him, and on the 18th of June his temporalities were restored to him, on condition of his fitting out three ships of war for the defence of the kingdom and maintaining them at sea for a quarter of a year. And even from this mulct he was released on the accession of Richard II., a few days after. But the loss nevertheless to which he had been subjected by his prosecution is said to have amounted to ten thousand marks.

The instrument by which, on the accession of the young king, Wykeham was relieved from the pains and penalties which a dominant party had imposed upon him, is very full and explicit. It sets forth " that the king, reflecting upon the great damages and hardships that the Bishop of Winchester hath sustained on occasion of the said impeachment, and revolving in his mind the many acceptable, useful, and laudable services which the said bishop with great labour and expense hath long performed for his grandfather, the many high offices which he hath held under his grandfather and father, and the special affection and *sincere love* which his father while he lived *always bore towards the said bishop*, out of his special

favour and with his certain knowledge, and also by advice and consent of his uncle the Duke of Lancaster and other prelates and lords of his council, remits and pardons all the aforesaid articles, and all other crimes and offences whatsoever in the amplest terms, and in the fullest manner, the exception of the said bishop in the Act of Grace passed in the last parliament of the late king, and all other statutes to the contrary notwithstanding; concluding with a clause to this effect: 'Willing that all men should know that, although we have granted to the Bishop of Winchester the said pardons and graces, nevertheless we do not think the said bishop to be in anywise chargeable, in the sight of God, with any of the matters thus by us pardoned, remitted, or released unto him, but do hold him to be, as to all and every of them, wholly innocent and guiltless.' "

His pardon was immediately followed by his employment in offices of trust and authority, where his great abilities and force of character gave assurance of a just and wise administration. As soon as Wykeham was released from his troubles he hastened to apply himself anew to the carrying forward and completion of his two colleges. The business of teaching appears to have



ment, instigated by the king's uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, to be a council to the king for one year, and in fact for that term to exercise all the powers of government. As soon as the parliament was dismissed, Richard made an attempt to break from the yoke thus imposed upon him; the commission and statute appointing the council were declared by the judges, on the royal command, to be illegal and null, and to have involved all who had been concerned in procuring them in the guilt of treason. Upon this the Duke of Gloucester and his friends raised an army of forty thousand men. Having encamped before London, they sent a deputation, of which the Bishop of Winchester was a member, to the king; the deputies were graciously received, and returned with proposals for an accommodation; but in the mean time a body of forces which had been raised for the king in Wales and Cheshire, under the command of his minion the Duke of Ireland, was encountered by the Earl of Derby and a part of the army of the confederated lords at Radcott Bridge in Oxfordshire, and entirely defeated. This blow compelled Richard to yield for the present. But in May, 1389, another revolution in the government was effected by the king suddenly declaring himself to be of age, and removing the Duke of Gloucester and his friends from the council-board. He did not, however, dispense with the services of the Bishop of Winchester, but, on the contrary, forced him again to accept the great seal. Wykeham remained chancellor till the 27th of September, 1391, when he retired from office, Gloucester having by this time been restored to his place in the council, and all parties having been for the present again reconciled, in a great measure, it is probable, through the bishop's mediation. From this date Wykeham appears to have taken little or no share in public affairs. In 1397, when the Duke of Gloucester was put to death, and several of those who had joined him in taking arms in 1386 were attainted for that treason, the Bishop of Winchester and others were, at the intercession of the Commons, declared by the king *from the throne in parliament* not to have been im-

plicated in what their fellow-commissioners had done. Wykeham was present in the parliament held 30th September, 1399, when Richard was deposed, and also in the first parliament of Henry IV., summoned a few days after; but this was the last which he attended. He continued, however, in the active discharge of his episcopal duties for two or three years longer, and was able to transact business till within four days of his death, which took place at South Waltham, about eight o'clock on the morning of Saturday the 27th of September, 1404.

We conclude with Lowth's just eulogium upon the high-minded munificence of this remarkable man:—
“ We frequently hear of men who, by the force of their genius, by their industry, or by their good fortune, have raised themselves from the lowest stations to the highest degrees of honour, power, and wealth; but how seldom do we meet with those who have made a proper use of the advantages which they have thus happily acquired, and considered them as deposited in their hands by Providence for the general benefit of mankind? In this respect Wykeham stands an uncommon and almost singular example of generosity and public spirit. By the time that he had reached the meridian of life, he had acquired great wealth; and the remainder of his days he



see that the clergy, though they had almost engrossed the whole learning of that age, yet were very deficient in real and useful knowledge; besides that by the particular distresses of the times, and the havoc that several successive plagues had made in all ranks of the people, but especially among the clergy, the church was at a loss for a proper supply of such as were tolerably qualified for the performance of the common service. It was not vanity and ostentation that suggested this design to him; he was prompted to it by the notorious exigence of the times and the real demands of the public. The deliberation with which he entered upon it, and the constant attention with which he pursued it for above thirty years, shows how much he set his heart upon the success of his undertaking, and how earnestly he endeavoured to secure the effectual attainment of the end proposed, the promotion of true piety and learning. In a word, as he was in his own time a general blessing to his country, in which his bounty was freely imparted to every object that could come within the reach of his influence, so the memory of this great man merits the universal regard of posterity, as of one whose pious and munificent designs were directed to the general good of mankind, and were extended to the latest ages."

END OF VOL. I.

THE
CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY
OF
BRITISH WORTHIES.

VOLUME II.

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CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY OF BRITISH WORTHIES.



A LIVING writer, whose opinions are not only entitled to the utmost respect from their intrinsic importance, but who commands far more than ordinary attention from the circumstances of his social position, has recently alluded to the character of Henry the Fifth as one which the historian is called upon to denounce, and hold up to reprobation:—"Reference has been made already to the Plantagenet Prince (Henry V.), and the Tudor Princess Elizabeth), so much the theme of admiration with historians for great capacity, crowned with dazzling success. *What could not the diction of Hume and of Robertson*
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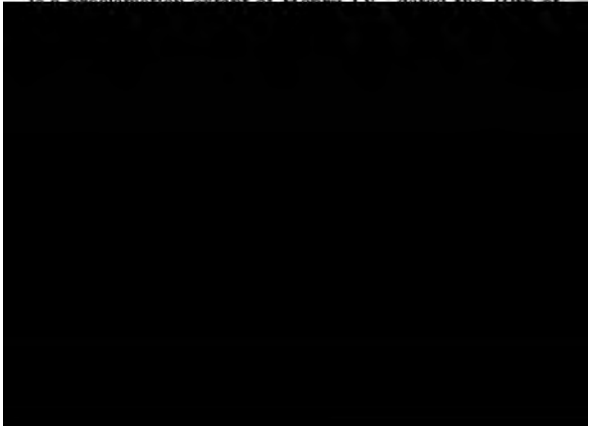
have been employed for the far more worthy purpose of causing men to despise the intrigues, and execrate the wars, of such rulers? The same events had then studded their page, the same picturesque details given it striking effect, the same graphic colours added life to it, and yet the right feelings of the reader would have been exerted and cherished; nor would the historians have made themselves accomplices with the vulgar in the criminal award of applause and of fame, by which the wicked actions of past times are rewarded, and the repetition of the same offences encouraged."* Without attempting to controvert these opinions in the abstract, we may believe that the remarkable qualities which distinguished "the Plantagenet Prince," and his great-grandfather Edward III., may claim the attention, and even the applause, of the historian and the biographer, without the award being criminal, or the wicked actions of past times encouraged. To adopt the sentiments of a literary friend and colleague, "It is unnecessary in the present day to waste a word on either the injustice or the folly of the enterprise on which Henry threw away the whole of his reign. In estimating his character it is of more importance to remember that the folly and injustice, which are

fatigue could quell; the most heroic gallantry; patience and endurance, watchfulness and activity, steadiness, determination, policy, and other moral constituents, as they may be called, of genius, as well as mere military skill and resources.”*

Henry, the eldest son of Henry Bolingbroke and Mary Bohun, was born at Monmouth, according to some of the chroniclers, on the 9th of August, 1387. It has been held that he was educated at Oxford, under his uncle Cardinal Beaufort; and although the archives of the university furnish no evidence of the fact, yet tradition has in this case more than common authority. He is said to have lodged in a small room over the ancient gateway of Queen’s College; and here, according to Anthony Wood, were rude portraits in stained glass, of his uncle and of himself, with a Latin inscription, which has been thus translated—“To record the fact for ever. The Emperor of Britain, the triumphant Lord of France, the conqueror of his enemies and of himself, Henry V., of this little chamber once the great inhabitant.” The term of his scholastic education must, however, have been very brief. He had just completed his eleventh year in 1398, when his father was banished by the tyrannical decree of Richard II.; and it would appear that the king, no doubt from motives of policy, took upon himself the protection, or rather the custody, of the young Henry Bolingbroke. Richard II. sailed for Ireland on the 29th of May, 1399. On the 23rd of June, the vigil of St. John, it is recorded by an eye-witness that Richard “out of true and entire affection, sent for the son of the Duke of Lancaster, a fair, young, and handsome bachelor, and knighted him, saying, ‘My fair cousin, henceforth be preux and valiant.’” In less than a fortnight from this time the Duke of Lancaster had landed at Ravenspur. Richard immediately shut up the young Henry in Trym Castle; but within two months the weak king was deposed, Bolingbroke crowned as Henry IV., and the fair young bachelor created Prince

* *Penny Cyclopædia*, art. Henry V.

of Wales, and declared, by act of parliament, heir-apparent to the throne. In 1401, when he was scarcely fourteen years of age, the young Henry was in command of an army sent against the rebellious Welsh. A despatch from the prince to the council, dated the 15th of May, 1401, contains many of the revolting details which necessarily accompany warfare, at all periods, and under all circumstances. "We caused the whole place to be set on fire—we laid waste a fine and populous country;"—these are the expressions which Henry uses, describing the *duties* which he performed. The disgust which we naturally feel at the record of such atrocities should not be wholly bestowed upon one who was essentially the child and champion of warfare in an age when war was the great business of existence, but upon those who in a far different state of society, when the business of the world is peace, carry this savagery of civilization into the houses of men that they esteem barbarous, and receive the rewards of riches and honours from applauding senates—ay, even from a nation that cannot spare a few annual thousands to bestow upon the widows and orphans of the poet and the philosopher. In an age of butchery Henry of Monmouth was a merciful conqueror. There is a proclamation extant of Henry IV. dated the 10th of



was reduced to submission. It is said that the
 n and popularity the prince acquired by these suc-
 so inflamed the jealousy of his father as to occasion
 call from the army. It is at this period of his life—
 for about seven years previous to his ascending the
 throne—that we must, in all probability, place that
 of dissipation which, however exaggerated it may
 been by the early historians, had no doubt an ade-
 quate foundation—the natural result of the ardent tem-
 perament of a youth trusted very early with almost irre-
 sistible power. It has been attempted to prove that
 there was no solid historical ground for the prevailing
 notion of Henry's early profligacy; first, by Mr. Alex-
 ander, in 'An Essay on the Character of Henry
 the Fifth Prince of Wales,' published in 1818—se-
 condly, by the Rev. J. Endell Tyler, in his historical
 'Henry of Monmouth,' published in 1836.
 But regarding what the chroniclers of the sixteenth
 century recorded of Henry, we have abundant evidence
 in the writings of his own contemporaries that

"His addiction was to courses vain."

as Elmham, one of those contemporaries who
 lived in his life, distinctly tells us of his passing the bounds
 of modesty, and, "when not engaged in military exercises,
 he was so indulged in other excesses which unrestrained
 he was apt to fall into." Of Henry's sudden conver-
 sion, his author also tells the story; and he dates it from
 his father's death-bed. Otterburn, another contemporary
 writer, gives us also the story of his sudden conver-
 sion—"Repente mutatus est in virum alterum:" he was
 suddenly changed into another man. Hardyng, another
 contemporary, and an adherent of the house of Lancaster,

"The hour he was crowned and anointed
 He changed was of all his old condition;"

as he says in the argument to this chapter of his
 life, "*he was changed from all vices unto virtuous*
Walsingham, a fourth contemporary, speaking ~"

a heavy fall of snow on the 9th of April, the day of his coronation, says "that some interpreted this unseasonable weather to be a happy omen; as if he would cause the snow and frost of vices to fall away in his reign, and the serene fruits of virtues to spring up. That it might be truly said by his subjects, 'Lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone.' Who, indeed, as soon as he was invested with the ensigns of royalty, was suddenly changed into a new man, behaving with propriety, modesty, and gravity, and showing a desire to practise every kind of virtue." The story of Henry insulting the Lord Chief Justice, and being by him committed to prison, was first told by Sir Thomas Elyot, in 1534, in his book entitled 'The Governor;' and he sets out by saying, "The most renowned Prince, King Henry V., late King of England, during the life of his father, was noted to be fierce and of wanton courage." His servant, according to this story, was arraigned for felony, and the prince, "incensed by light persons about him, in furious rage came hastily to the bar." According to Sir Thomas Elyot, the prince did not strike the judge; but "being set all in a fury, all chafed, in a terrible manner came up to the place of judgment, men thinking that he would

The authentic details of this expedition have been collected and formed into a most interesting narrative by Sir Harris Nicolas. We shall condense, in as short a compass as may be, the leading details of this wonderful story.

The claim of Henry V. to the crown of France appears to have been set up without the shadow of justice. He demanded the throne as the heir of Isabella, wife of Edward II., and daughter of Philip IV. His pretensions were more absurd than those of Edward III., for at that time the Earl of March was the direct heir of Isabella. The concessions which Henry required from France, for the renunciation of his title, were certainly most extravagant. He was, perhaps, anxious that they should be refused. He was of a restless and enthusiastic nature, and his element was war. During the year 1414, and till the time of Henry's invasion in 1415, negotiations were carried on with the French court. Henry would not listen to the terms proposed: it is said he had a personal insult to avenge upon the Dauphin of France; he even challenged him to single combat. Two letters addressed to the King of France by Henry on the subject of his claims, are given by Mr. Nicolas; they are very characteristic of the man and of the times. However, the King of England, in council at Westminster, on the 17th of April, 1415, determined on the expedition to France, arranged for the safety of the realm during his absence, and settled on the wages of his army. Every exertion was used to provide the necessary stores and attendants for the expedition, and ships were taken up for transport. Most of the fighting men engaged required the advance of a quarter's wages; the parliamentary supply was insufficient for this purpose; and Henry, therefore, not only obtained sums of his subjects by proclamation, but actually pawned many of the crown jewels to raise the necessary supplies. Here is a singular evidence of the enthusiasm with which the king engaged in his ambitious enterprise. It has been estimated that Henry, by these various expedients, raised the sum of 500,000 nobles. *The king left London on the 18th of June, with great*

state. He proceeded to Winchester, where he received an embassy from France, with new terms. These were again refused by Henry with unyielding pertinacity. The king afterwards went to Southampton. During his stay there, the conspiracy of the Earl of Cambridge and Lord Scrope for the overthrow of his government was detected, and the principal conspirators were executed before the king quitted the English shores. The invading army assembled in the neighbourhood of Southampton. Its aggregate number is a matter of great doubt, from the contradictions of the old chroniclers: it may be estimated, including the followers of the men-at-arms, at 30,000.

Mr. Nicolas has, with the most commendable industry, collected together the narratives of every contemporary historian, from the time of the departure of the English army to its achievement of the battle of Agincourt. It is difficult in a short space to crowd in many of the interesting facts which are in his book, for the first time, made known; but we shall endeavour to seize upon the most prominent occurrences.

The king embarked on board his ship the *Trinity*, on the 10th of August, between Portsmouth and South-



This merit is yielded to him by all the contemporary historians, whether English or French.

The siege of Harfleur was the first military undertaking of the invading monarch. The conduct of that enterprise was agreeable to the rules of war laid down by 'Master Giles,' the principal military authority of that period. The loss sustained by the besieging army was very great; and in a few days the English forces were visited by a frightful dysentery. Many of the most eminent leaders fell before its ravages. The town was surrendered on the 22nd of September, after a siege of thirty-six days. The inhabitants were treated with kindness, and the great prisoners and hostages with all honour. Henry in this, as in other circumstances, appears to have been a model of chivalrous equanimity. Immediately after the capture of Harfleur, the king of England sent his challenge to personal combat to the Dauphin of France. The loss which the English army sustained during the thirty-six days subsequent to its landing would be almost incredible, if its accuracy were not supported by every conflicting testimony. It appears that if Henry landed with thirty thousand men, more than two-thirds must, during the short period of the siege, have been slain, have died of disease, or have been sent back to England as incapable of proceeding. The English army, when it quitted Harfleur, did not amount to much more than eight thousand fighting men.

It was decided in the council of the King of England, that the invading army should re-embark for their native shores. The pertinacity of Henry (amounting, it would have been thought, to judicial blindness, if his wonderful success had not covered his determination with a false splendour) resolved that, instead of going on board the ships which lay ready to receive them, the army should march to Calais. There was a chivalrous hardihood in the resolve, which almost entirely covers its rashness. His trust, said the king, was in God; he was resolved to see the territories which were his own; he would not subject himself to the reproach of cowardice. "*Our mind,*" said he, "*is prepared to endure every peril,*

rather than they shall be able to breathe the slightest reproach against your king. We will go, if it pleases God, without harm or danger; and if they disturb our journey, we will frustrate their intentions with honour, victory, and triumph."

The army commenced its perilous march about the 8th of October, carrying provisions for eight days. The king's proclamation, forbidding plunder under pain of death, was renewed. The supineness of the French government was suddenly extinguished by the daring character of Henry's march. The oriflamme was hoisted—for the last time. Princes, and knights, and esquires, and men-at-arms, rushed to the sacred standard; and an army of enormous numbers, and of the most complete equipment, was collected to annihilate this band of desperate invaders. The passage of the Somme presented an almost insuperable difficulty to Henry. At Abbeville, and other places, the bridges were broken down; an enemy constantly appeared on the opposite banks; the provisions of the English were nearly exhausted. He at length crossed the river, over a temporary bridge, on the 19th of October, at a place called Nesle. The passage is described with great minuteness by the chroniclers.



I have a firm hope of victory, I would not, even if I could, increase my number by one." Shakspeare had the anecdote from Holinshed. The fidelity of the poet's descriptions is very remarkable, when they are compared with these contemporary narratives. The night was passed by either army as the great dramatist has described; by the French, in gambling and debauchery—by the English, in prayer and preparation. The quarters of Henry, on the night preceding the battle, were at Maisoncelles. He spent the intervening hours in obtaining accurate reports of his position, and of that of the enemy.

The French army, upon an average of the conflicting testimonies, must have amounted to more than 60,000 men. These forces, on the morning of the 25th, were arrayed in three lines, on the plain of Azincourt, through which the route to Calais lay. The fighting men of France wore "long coats of steel, reaching to their knees, which were very heavy; below these was armour for their legs; and above, white harness, and bacinets, with camails." They were drawn up between two woods, in a space wholly inadequate for the movements of such an immense body; and the ground was soft from heavy rains. It was with the utmost difficulty they could stand, or lift their weapons. The horses at every step sunk into the mud. Henry formed his little band in one line, the archers being posted between the wings, in the form of a wedge, with sharp stakes fixed before them. The king, habited in his "cote d'armes," mounted a small grey horse; but he subsequently fought on foot. He addressed his troops with his usual spirit. Each army remained inactive for some hours. A truce was at length proposed by the French. The reply of Henry, before an army ten times as great as his own, differed little from the terms he had offered in his own capital. Towards the middle of the day, the order was given to the English to advance, by Henry crying aloud, "Advance Banners." Sir Thomas de Erpyngham, the commander of the archers, threw his *truncheon* into the air, exclaiming, "Now *strike!*" The English immediately prostrated themselves

to the ground, beseeching the protection of Heaven, and proceeded in three lines on the French army. The archers of Henry soon put the French cavalry in disorder; and the whole army rushing on, with the national huzza, the archers threw aside their bows, and slew all before them with their bill-hooks and hatchets. The immense numbers of the French proved their ruin. The battle soon became a slaughter; and the harnessed knights, almost incapable of moving, were hacked to pieces by the English archers, "who were habited in jackets, and had their hosen loose, with hatchets or swords hanging from their girdles, whilst many were barefooted and without hats." The battle lasted about three hours. The English "stood on the heaps of corpses, which exceeded a man's height." The French, indeed, fell almost passive, in their lines. Henry, at one period of the battle, issued an order for the slaughter of his prisoners. Even the French writers justify this horrible circumstance as an act of self-preservation. The total loss of the French was about ten thousand slain on the field; that of the English appears to have been about twelve hundred. Most of the dead were afterwards buried in enormous trenches.

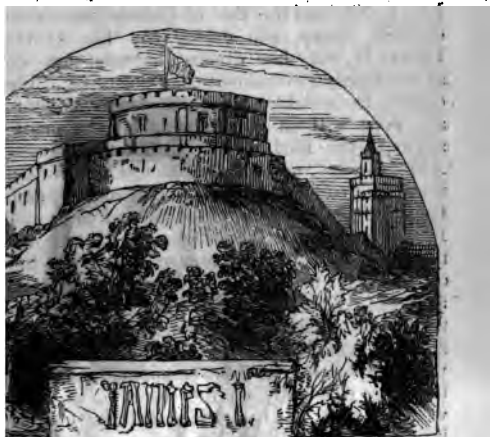
which ought to have ceased in the presence of an invader. The people of Paris, and the Burgundians, came at last to look upon the English as their allies against the faction of the Dauphin. In 1420 Henry virtually accomplished the great object of his ambition by marrying Katherine, the daughter of the King of France, and concluding a treaty by which the succession to the throne was secured to him after the death of Charles. Henry returned to England with his queen in 1421; but the Dauphin still continued in arms, and with a success that again summoned Henry to the field of war. Again were his energy and skill rewarded by his accustomed triumphs.

The Dauphin fled before him; and he entered Paris in solemn state, with his queen, on the 30th of May, 1422. Katherine had borne him a son at Windsor Castle in the previous December. The short career of the great conqueror was now drawing to a close. Labouring under a severe illness, he set out, with his usual determination, to the relief of a town which had been invested by the Dauphin. He could proceed no farther than Corbeil, about twenty miles from Paris; and, being carried back in a litter to the immediate neighbourhood of the capital, he lay on a sick bed for about a month, and then died on the 31st of August, 1422. Never was so short a life so filled with unceasing action. He lived thirty-four years; he reigned ten years.

The character of Henry V. was precisely adapted to the times in which he was born, and to the circumstances by which he was surrounded. Enterprising, fearless, persevering, generous, pious, he was made to be a leader of chivalry, and to earn an imperishable distinction by those glittering but unsubstantial virtues which belong to an age in which success in arms was the chief, if not the only distinction. Rash, obstinate, proud, superstitious, he was equally unfitted to make his people happy by wise laws, by a righteous administration of justice, or by the cultivation of sound knowledge. He lived just at the moment when the world could admire his brilliant qualities, and be blind to his defects. Had he come a century later, he would have found men's minds averse

to feudal projects of conquest, by the spread of intelligence produced by the invention of printing ; and from the general application of gunpowder to military affairs, he would have seen that warfare was a matter of calculation, in which personal prowess was only one of many instruments. He was the last of the conquerors of chivalry. May we hope that the time is fast approaching when we shall see the last of the conquerors of strategy.





accomplished prince was born some time in the
 . He was a younger son of King Robert III.,
 son of Robert II., the first king of the un-
 line of Stuart, who had ascended the Scottish
 1371. The sixty-four years between the death
 , the great liberator of his country, and the
 ames I., had been years of war and turbulence;
 y owing to the weakness of his father's charac-
 and was in a very anarchic condition during the
 t's childhood. Robert III. was fifty years old;
 e came to the crown (in 1390): he was of a
 somewhat timid disposition, and much fonder
 ment and study than of war and state business.
 pious, merciful, and accomplished; but these
 lities which the half-savage aristocracy of Scot-
 very cheap at the end of the fourteenth century;
 ed, even two centuries later; and his want of
 of a taste for war excited contempt. These

iron barons were only to be ruled by a king of iron heart and iron hand. Robert's two younger brothers, the Earl of Fife and the Earl of Buchan, were men of a very different stamp, and during the life of their father Robert II. they had divided between them such powers as the kingly government then possessed. Upon his accession, the amiable recluse, apparently without a struggle, and even without any regret, left the management of affairs to the Earl of Fife (afterwards created Duke of Albany); and, under the name of Custos or Guardian, or that of Governor, the crafty, stirring, and ambitious Albany governed both kingdom and king. But when Robert's eldest son, the Duke of Rothsay, grew up to manhood, he submitted very unwillingly to the authority of his uncle; and a strong party rallying round the heir-apparent, Albany, in 1398, found himself compelled to retire and admit his nephew as Regent. The Duke of Rothsay occupied this post for about three years; but he was thoughtless, rash, and dissipated, and his uncle Albany was constantly on the watch for an opportunity to work his ruin. It is also said that the cunning and ambitious uncle got dissolute and depraved men placed about the young Regent, in order to lead him into guilt and



carelessness, was very eager to get his younger sons out of his way, lest he too should be cut off to leave the succession to the throne open to him and his sons. Prince James was now near upon sixth year, and already gave good promise of the abilities he afterwards displayed. His father had him a taste for books, and he had been carefully educated by Henry Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, in arms and martial exercises by Sinclair, of Orkney, Sir David Fleming of Cumbernauld, and nobles and knights who remained steady in attachment to the poor king, whose piety and character led him to the churchmen and the common

But for these last circumstances, Albany might have succeeded to some desperate extremity in Scotland for the young heir to the throne. But not daring to do so, he agreed with his brother King Robert that James should be sent over to France, to be educated in the court of Charles VI. It is suspected, however, that Albany, before giving his necessary consent to the departure, arranged in a secret correspondence with Henry IV. of England, who had recently dethroned Richard II., that Prince James should be seized on his arrival, and kept a close prisoner in one of King Henry's

In the spring of the year 1405 the young James took leave of his father, whom he was destined never to see again. The prince travelled to North Berwick, accompanied and protected by the Earl of Orkney, Sir David Fleming, and a strong party of barons and knights, chiefly of the Lothians. He embarked and took his departure from the Bass Rock. The Earl of Orkney, Sir Alexander Seton, his esquire William Gifford, and others (making but a small retinue), continued to accompany the prince, and were to remain with him in France; the rest of the party took a mournful farewell and returned homeward. But one of the best of that party, Sir David Fleming, never reached his home, being waylaid and barbarously murdered on Langhermanstone moor, and his body led on by Douglas of Balvainy, laird of Dirle-

ton, an adherent of the Regent Albany. As it was a time of peace with England, the prince's friends seem to have entertained no apprehension from that quarter, and the ship sailed close along the English coast. But as they were rounding Flamborough Head, on the Yorkshire coast, on or about the 12th of April, 1405, the vessel was surrounded by a squadron of armed merchantmen, commanded by one John Joliffe, and belonging to the port of Clay. According to another account, the prince and his friends, after passing Flamborough Head, landed to procure refreshments, and were taken prisoners on shore. But it appears pretty certain that they were boarded and captured at sea, and that Henry IV. was fully prepared to intercept the prince and keep him a prisoner for life. When the Earl of Orkney spoke of the existing peace between the two countries, and showed the English king the passes and letters which he had received from King Robert, and protested that the only object held in view in sending the young prince into France was that he might be well educated and taught the French language, Henry laughed and said, "Well, as I know the French tongue right well, the boy could not have fallen into better hands than mine!" James was forthwith shut up



and to support his cause with an invading army. Thus, the Regent Albany, as well after the death of his brother King Robert as before that event, treated the adventurer in public as the indisputable Richard, and legitimate king of England. The man, whoever or whatever he was, though narrowly watched, was liberally entertained at the public expense, and the money so spent was entered in the High Chamberlain's books as "for the maintenance of Richard King of England."* Most if not all of the Scottish nobles seem to have sincerely believed the strange story for a time, for they were eager to credit what flattered their vanity and gave them a means of annoying the English king, and few of them could have been competent to an investigation of the historical doubt: notwithstanding some attempts which have been made of late years to establish the probability of this story, we feel fully convinced that the stranger entertained at the Scottish court was an adventurer and an impostor, and that Richard II. perished in Pontefract Castle—most probably by starvation. But whether the true Richard, or only an impostor and a phantom, he could be made dangerous to Henry IV., whose throne was not yet firmly established, and who was regarded as a usurper not only by most foreign princes, but also by a very considerable portion of his own subjects. The original bargain between him and the equally wily Regent of Scotland appears to have been this—Do you keep your pretended Richard out of my way, and I will keep your nephew and heir to the Scottish crown out of your way. Other views may have arisen in Henry's fertile and politic mind afterwards, and he may even have contemplated the annexation of Scotland to his own dominions by keeping the heir of the old king in his hands; or he may have hoped that, by educating his captive as an Englishman, he would lose his nationality, and be prepared either to submit to him in after years, or to hold his

* P. F. Tytler, *Hist. Scot., and Life of James I.*, in *Scottish Worthies—Lord Dover*, Paper in Transactions of Roy. Soc. of Literature.

crown in vassalage and dependence on him. The injustice of the seizure and detention of the prince was matter of no moment either to the crafty Bolingbroke or to his ministers and advisers; for the privy council warmly recommended Henry to keep James in sure ward, and to take every possible advantage of his captivity. The cunningest of English kings had already in his power the Regent Albany's eldest son, Lord Murdoch Stuart, who had been taken prisoner in the famous battle of Homildon Hill on the 14th of September, 1402; and, notwithstanding his many public treaties and private dealings with Albany, and the truces which so long existed, and the friendship he so often professed for the regent, Henry so long as he lived could never be prevailed upon to liberate his son.

The news of James's arrest is commonly said to have broken the heart of the old king, Robert. One chronicler says that Robert died on the very day he received the sad intelligence.* But this last assertion is evidently incorrect; and it may almost be doubted whether Robert, when on his death-bed, did not rejoice that his young and helpless son was in an English castle, and not in his own distracted country, exposed to the malice of his un-



ambassy or a company of secret agents to treat with
 my IV., and some of these men were the Regent's
 stives,* who no doubt were anxious that James should
 main where he was. Friendly engagements were con-
 cealed, and for several years peace was preserved be-
 tween the governments of England and Scotland. Prince
 James appears to have been almost forgotten in his own
 country, and in England he remained a very close pri-
 soner. He was, however, kindly and liberally treated,
 and King Henry caused great care to be taken of his
 education. Sir John de Pelham, constable of Pevensey
 castle, James's first place of confinement, was a states-
 man and warrior of no mean fame, and a better scholar
 than was commonly found in his station; he had lived
 much abroad, and had been with Henry Bolingbroke
 during that exile in France which preceded the easy
 revolution that placed him on the throne of England.
 A old writer very justly says of James—"This advan-
 tage he had by his captivity, that he was well and care-
 fully educated."† These advantages he could not have
 enjoyed to anything like the same extent if he had been
 brought up in Scotland. He studied during his cap-
 tivity Latin as well as French, Grammar, Rhetoric,
 theology, and Music; and, for that time, he must have
 been plentifully supplied with books. We are not told
 who were his several masters, or what was the course
 and order of his studies, but it should appear that music
 and poetry engaged his attention at an early period of
 his captivity. His fame was afterwards as great as a
 musician as it was as a poet. "He exercised all instru-
 ments of music, and equalled the best professors thereof,"
 says Drummond of Hawthornden. "He had studied
 philosophy, but most that which concerns govern-
 ment."‡ He was also well trained in the art of war, and

* Rymer, *Fœdera*.

† Prefatory Introduction to Drummond's (of Hawthornden) *History of Scotland*, by Mr. Hall, of Gray's Inn.

‡ *Hist. of Scotland from the year 1423 until the year 1542*.

in military and athletic exercises. When, after so many years, he returned to his own country, he was found to surpass all men in archery, in throwing the great hammer, and "putting the stone."

In the course of the year 1407, James was removed from Pevensey Castle to the Tower of London, and from the Tower to Nottingham Castle. Before these removals the Earl of Orkney and Sir Alexander Seton had been liberated and allowed to return to Scotland, but his faithful squire, William Gifford, remained with the captive king. As we hear of no more changes, it seems probable that James dwelt by the broad Trent in Nottingham Castle for the space of six years. Henry IV. died on the 20th of March, 1413. His son and successor, Henry V., immediately removed King James, and shut him up once more in the Tower of London, the faithful Gifford being still with him. To make the case still more bitter, Henry V. entered into friendly negotiations with the Regent Albany, and liberated his son, Lord Murdoch Stuart, who proceeded to Scotland to assist his father in maintaining his power, and to pave the way for his own promotion to the Regency upon the death of his parent, who was far advanced in years. King James, however, was not detained many months in the Tower.



James remained in Windsor Castle from the summer of 1414 until the summer of 1417. His apartment was in the Round Tower, and it was here that he is thought to have prosecuted his studies with most ardour and success, being about twenty years old when he first came to Windsor. "Windsor Castle," says Drummond, "kept him a prisoner; but by commandment of King Henry, he was so carefully instructed, that no prince could have been better bred in the schools of Europe." The surrounding country, the noble river, the vast and venerable forest, were fitted to promote his poetical turn, and to feed and invigorate that love of nature and nice observation of it which are displayed so remarkably in his poetry. It appears also to have been towards the latter part of this his first residence at Windsor; that his heart was warmed and his feeling refined by the passion of love—the groundwork of his greatest and, perhaps, only indisputable poem that has come down to our times.

All the first part of the 'King's Quair' (that is, the King's Quire or Book) is considered autobiographical, and no doubt is entertained that the lady therein celebrated was the fair Jane or Joanna Beaufort, who, after a long attachment, became his wife and queen. This lady was daughter of John, Earl of Somerset: her father, now dead, was son of John of Gaunt, and uncle to Henry V.: her mother, Catherine, a daughter of Holland, Earl of Kent, had for her second husband the Duke of Clarence, a younger brother of Henry V., who was at this time serving in France. She was young, beautiful, and accomplished. It appears that she frequently resided at Windsor Castle, or in that neighbourhood. James, in the poem, describes the first sight he had of her as accidental. It was the sweet month of May, and as he looked forth from the Tower of the castle all men and things seemed free and gay, except only he. He bewailed his hard lot, as he had oft times done before:—

"Where as in ward full oft I would bewail
 My deadly life, full of pain and penance,
 Saying right thus, What have I guilt to fail*
 My freedom in this world, and my pleasance?
 Sent† every wight has thereof suffisance
 That I behold, and I a crëature
 Put from all this: hard is mine aventure.‡

The bird, the beast, the fish eke in the sea,
 They live in freedom everich in his kind,
 And I a man, and lacketh liberty!
 What shall I sayn, what reason may I find,
 That fortune should do so? Thus in my mind
 My fate I would argue; but all for nought;
 Was none that might that on my paines wrought.§

The longe dayes and the nightes eke
 I would bewail my fortune in this wise;
 For which again|| distress comfort to seek
 My custom was on mornes for to rise,
 Early as day; O happy exercise!
 By thee came I to joy out of torment:—
 But now to purpose of my first intent.

Bewailing in my chamber thus alone,

requisite :—

"Now there was made, fast by the Toures wall,
A garden fair, and in the corners set
Ane herber* green, with wandes long and small
Railed about: and so with trées set
Was all the place, and hawthorn hedges knet,†
That list‡ was none walking there forby
That might within scarce any wight espy.

So thick the bewes§ and the leaves green.
Besaded all the alleys that there were,
And midde§ every herber might be seen
The sharpe, greene, sweete juniper,
Growing so fair with branches here and there,
That, as it seemed to a life without,
The bewes spread the herber all about.

And on the smale greene twistes sate
The little sweete nightingale, and sung
So loud and clear the hymnes consecrate
Of loves use, now soft now loud among,
That all the gardens and the walles rung
Right of their song and on the couple next
Of their sweet harmony; and lo the text :—

Worshippe, ye that lovers been, this May,
For of your bliss the kalends are begun,
And sing with us, Away, winter, away!
Come, summer, come, the sweet season and sun;
Awake, for shame! that have your heavens won,
And amorously lift up your heades all;
Hark, Love, that list you to his mercy call."

While the birds are thus sweetly singing, a lady comes into the garden and passes close under the Tower :—

* A garden plot set with plants and flowers—a grove with an arbour railed with trellis-work, and close set about with trees from Herbarium.

† Knit.
§ Boughs.
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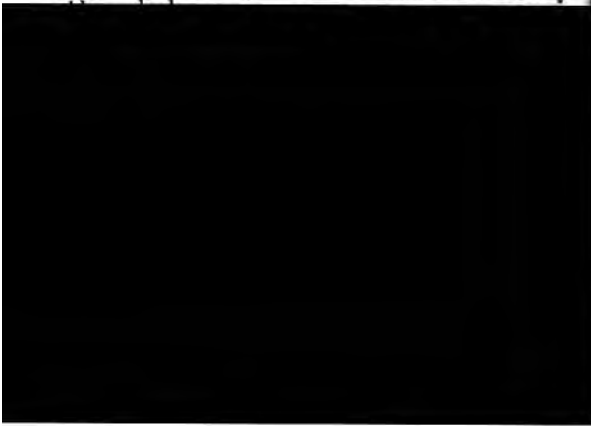
‡ Living person.
|| Amidst.

"And therewith cast I down mine eye again,
Where as I saw walking under the Tower,
Full secretly, new cumyn^d her to pleyne,
The fairest or the freshest younge flower
That ever I saw, methought, before that hour:
For which sudden abate, anon astert,[†]
The blood of all my body to my heart.

And though I stood abaisit tho a lyte
No wonder was; for why? my wittis all
Were so o'ercome with pleasance and delyte,
Only through letting of mine eyen fall,
That suddenly my heart become her thrall,
For ever of free will, for of menace,
There was no token in her sweet face.

And in my head I drew right hastily,
And eftsoons I leaned it out again,
And saw her walk that very womanly,
With no wight mo, but only women twain;
Then gan I study in myself and seyne,
Ah! sweet, are ye a worldly creature,
Or heavenly thing in likeness of nature?"

The enamoured poet goes on to describe the choice array, the golden hair, and the rich attire of the lovely



"Bidding farewell to every leaf and flower."

He then falls into a deep sleep, and is wafted in—

"A cloud of crystal, clear and fair,"

from planet to planet, till he reaches the "glad empire of blissful Venus," where he finds lovers of all classes and descriptions. The poem then becomes allegorical, demi-classical, and in truth somewhat tiresome, although natural and tender thoughts, musically expressed, are to be found even in this part. The sweet flow and melody of the verse—the musical delicacy of the poet's ear—are very remarkable. With the alteration of a few obsolete and crabbed words, and a little attention to the accentuation of the period, the 'King's Quair' will afford delight to the most delicate ear in its rythmical construction.

In the summer of 1417, Henry V., who was departing for his second French expedition, called James from Windsor Castle, and took him with him to Normandy, where the two kings landed in the beginning of August, together with the finest army that England had ever sent abroad. The campaign which ensued was a very active one, and nearly twenty sieges of towns or strong castles were commenced and concluded. It appears that James took an active part in some of these operations, and that his skill and bravery attracted universal admiration. While he was thus serving in France, his uncle, the Regent Albany, broke the truce he had solemnly concluded with Henry V., and rushed across the English border with 60,000 men. He was impelled by various strong motives: seeing the altered condition of his nephew, he thought that nothing short of a war with England could bar James's return to Scotland; and he was also bound by his French treaties to make a diversion in favour of France. The phantom King Richard had long ceased to delude even the credulous; and if it had been otherwise, the conqueror of Azincourt would not have been much troubled by his pretensions. Albany thought the surest means of keeping the young king from his throne; and as Henry had taken so great a force with him to France, he expected to find the

northern counties of England an easy prey. But the Regent miscalculated. Elated by Henry's brilliant victories on the Continent, the whole of England was in a martial temper and attitude; between Trent and Tweed there was a small but admirably appointed army, and at the first news of its approach Albany called in his marauding parties and retreated with disgrace, and without striking a blow. The English force invaded Scotland and made a desert of the country near the borders. This dishonourable campaign of the Regent was ever afterwards called the "Foul Raid." Shortly after its occurrence the Regent agreed to send 7000 Scots, under the command of his second son, the Earl of Buchan, to assist the French in their own country. James remained with Henry V., and still further distinguished himself in the campaigns of 1418 and 1419. He was present at the marriage of Henry with the Princess Katherine of France at Troyes, on the 2nd of June, 1420, and at the splendid repast which was given the day after the marriage. Before this time his uncle the Regent was dead. Albany, who had reached the age of eighty, died at Stirling on the 3rd of September, 1419. His government had not been unacceptable to the aristocracy, for



At the beginning of 1421, when Henry returned to England with his French bride, James accompanied him, and was present at the coronation of the fair Katherine, and at the magnificent banquet in Westminster Hall, where he sat "in his estate," at the left hand of the queen.* Henry then sent him back to his old abode in the Round Tower of Windsor Castle; but he had much more liberty, and more respect paid to him than before. Several Scottish lords who were dissatisfied with Murdoch's agency visited him, and it is believed that he occasionally enjoyed the society of his "milk-white dove," the lady Jane, and of other members of the great family of Beaumont. It is also thought that it was now he began his beautiful poem, the 'King's Quair,' although from some verses in it alluding to his long and constant passion, and to the happiness he found in his marriage, it should appear that the poem was not finished until some time after his return to Scotland. But, perhaps, these verses were introduced afterwards into the otherwise completed poem. During King Henry's absence in England several disasters and serious reverses befell parts of his army in France. The Earl of Buchan and his Scots fell suddenly upon Henry's brother, the Duke of Clarence, while he was besieging a town in Anjou, and gave him a complete overthrow. Clarence was slain in the battle, and Buchan for this exploit received from the Dauphin the sword of Constable of France.† "In truth," said Pope Martin V., when he heard the news, "the Scots in France are the only antidotes of the English." Henry now applied to James, promising him his liberty and many advantages, if he could cause the Scots to quit the service of the Dauphin and return to their own country. As James had never had possession of his realm, and as he was neither sworn to his subjects, nor they by any oath of allegiance bound to him, he could do little or nothing in his captive state; and upon these representations the English king began an agreement with James and several of the Scottish lords that had come into Eng-

* *Fabyan Chronicles.*

† *Mezeray, Hist. de France.*

land. But Henry's presence was imperatively demanded in France, and before the negotiations could be brought to any head, he went over to the Continent, and again took King James with him. But this time the Scottish king was followed by the Earl of Douglas with a Scottish force of two hundred knights and squires, and two hundred mounted archers; and, when in France, he was allowed a free and undisguised intercourse with all such of the Scottish nobility as were disgusted with his cousin Murdoch, and as chose to resort to him. He again saw many sieges and battles, and many splendid festivals and pageantries. After the death of the conquering Henry, on the 31st of August, 1422, James, acting as chief mourner, followed the body to England in that funeral procession which surpassed in solemnity and magnificence everything of the sort that had been known or even conceived. The authority of the deceased king was now divided between his two brothers, the Dukes of Gloucester and Bedford, Gloucester acting as Regent in England, and Bedford as regent in France. Both these princes willingly resumed the treaty which Henry V. had commenced; and at last, on the 10th of September, 1423, the treaty was concluded by Scottish and English negotiators who had met at York. The Scots agreed



* In the following month of February (1424) James Stuart, King of Scots, married in the face of the church," in the church of St. Mary Overy, in Northwark, the Lady Jane ; and the marriage feast was given in the palace of the bride's uncle, the great Cardinal Beaufort.† At the intercession of the cardinal, the money to be paid by the Scots was to be reduced to 1000*l.* ; and the 10,000*l.* saved were to be considered as the niece's marriage portion. In a few weeks James, with his beautiful wife, her father the Earl of Somerset and her uncle the cardinal, and a goodly retinue of Irish and English lords, set out for the borders ; and, after an absence of very nearly nineteen years, he returned to his native country. He kept his Easter feast at Edinburgh, and was crowned with his queen at Scone on the 20th of April. His cousin Murdoch, who had fallen into contempt, seems at this moment to have made no effort either to preserve his political power, or in any way to thwart the restored king, who was certainly received with transports of joy by the common people, and by most of the nobles. In a parliament which met at Perth, five days after the coronation, the king called attention to the feuds, factions, and abuses of law, and oppressions of the poor, which had made Scotland so unhappy a country ; a complete review of the disorders the kingdom was gone into, and, as a beginning, various laws and regulations were made for their correction. Legislation could not remove the roots of the evil ; some of the barons, who had enjoyed a full immunity under the Regent Murdoch, and even under his much younger father Albany, complained at the changes now attempted, and, leaguely again with Murdoch, they in many cases openly opposed the laws that were passed. The commons remained quiet, and, to all appearance, submitted to this fierce oligarchy ; but all the while he was preparing for a great state-blow. In the month of March, 1428, when he thought himself sufficiently strong, and when he had provided himself with fitting instruments,

* *Fabyan.*† *Id.*

he called together another parliament at Perth, and then and there suddenly arrested the ex-regent Murdoch, his youngest son Alexander, and twenty-six other barons. Walter, Murdoch's eldest son, had been seized some time before. James Stuart, another of Murdoch's sons, upon learning the arrest of his father and brother and friends, rode to the town of Dumbarton with a number of outlaws and Highlanders, surprised one of King James's uncles, called the Red Stuart of Dundonald, and slew him with thirty others; and then, setting fire to the town, fled into Ireland. A court was forthwith assembled in the palace of Stirling, over which the king himself presided; and, in the month of May, Murdoch and his two sons, Walter and Alexander, and his aged father-in-law, the Earl of Lennox, were condemned by the court and beheaded on the Heading Hill, in front of Stirling Castle. After giving this terrible warning, James released the other nobles who had been apprehended. "For the king," says Drummond of Hawthornden, "like a wise physician, would take no more blood than might take away the disease, and all further causes of faction. So within twelve months he set them *all* at liberty, and received them into his wonted favour,



collection of materials that now exist for the illustration of the internal state of any European country at this remote time. James also strengthened himself, and provided the means of calling into activity the industry and resources of his country, by concluding treaties of alliance or commerce with France, Flanders, and other foreign powers. He was heartily supported by most of his clergy, and could always count on the goodwill of the commonalty, who loved him the better for every act of severity he exercised against their old oppressors, the lawless and rapacious nobles. This severity was frequently excessive; but allowance must be made for the barbarous times in which, and the desperate men among whom, this reforming king's lot was cast. It was felt not only in Scotland, but in countries far more advanced in civilization, that the baronial fury was only to be tamed by copious blood-letting: gentler remedies had been tried and had failed, and had caused the death or ruin of the mild reformers. The armed retainers of the nobles despised industry, and lived by sword and spear. "This king," says an old Scottish writer, "was one great justiciar, which was the occasion that he did execute 3000 that were oppressors of the common weal in the first two years of his reign."* Having reduced the whole of the Lowlands to an obedience to the laws, James proceeded against the much wilder clans in the Highlands. He repaired or rebuilt the royal castle of Inverness, and there kept his court for some time. "He seemed," says Drummond, "to have arrived in some territory of the Scythians, having known or found things which none dare relate unto him; for he learned that not many miles off there were men some of whom had 1000, some 2000 robbers at their call, who were accustomed to drive preys from the more civil neighbours and borders, pilling and spoiling, polluting and ravishing, without any difference of right or wrong, holy or profane, but only following their ravenous and insolent humours. On the quieter

* Chronicle of the Kings of Scotland, from Fergus I. to James VI., published by the Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1830.

sort they set tribute, others they compelled to minister to them sustenance and necessaries. The God, Prince, Law, which they obey, are their barbarous chieftains; amongst which he is thought the best who doth most transcend in villainy." James made a beginning by seizing about fifty chiefs of clans. Of these some of the most desperate, as Alexander Macrore, James Campbell, and others, were executed immediately; some were kept in prison to be tried and condemned in a more deliberate manner; the rest were released and sent to their homes, having been exhorted by the king to lead a life more conformable to the law of God and man. Alexander, Lord of the Isles, was released after a captivity of two years, and the first use he made of his liberty and of the king's pardon was to call his clans and friends together to make war upon the king. James instantly marched against him, defeated him in a bloody battle, and drove him and his scattered clansmen into the hungry wilds of Lochaber. After making a vain attempt to escape into Ireland; this great chieftain disguised himself and went privately to Edinburgh; and there, on Easter Sunday, wrapped in a mourning garment, and concealed among the multitude, he stood in the church of the Holy Rood awaiting the coming of the king; and when the king came to mass he stepped out of the crowd, and, falling prostrate at his feet, implored his grace and another pardon. The gentle queen Jane interceded for him, and James gave him his life, but sent him as a prisoner to the strong castle of Tantallon. Donald Balloch, cousin to this Alexander, Lord of the Isles, now flew to arms, and a good many of the Highland clans were more than once in open insurrection; but Donald was killed in battle, and the Highlands were again pacified, though not until 300 men had perished on the gibbet.

About the year 1432 there was a greater calm in every corner of Scotland than had been known in any preceding time. The king prosecuted his internal reforms without disturbance. He founded schools, and granted *them* liberties and privileges. He invited learned foreigners to come and settle in the country. "Many

famous men in all sciences, from the noblest universities in Christendom, came hither, as to the sanctuary of the Muses, where often the king himself in person graced their lessons, and, when great matters did not withdraw him, was umpire to their harmless conflicts."* He advanced learned and virtuous men to eminent places in the church; and although he lamented that his predecessor, the saintly King David, had been a grievous saint to the crown, by alienating so much crown-land in extraordinary donations to the church, he himself founded the magnificent abbey of Perth, and endowed it richly; and he improved and beautified several abbeys and cathedral churches. "The excellent skill which he had in music and delight in poesy made him affect choristers, and he was the first that established choirs in his own chapels and the cathedral churches of Scotland, organs being not much known before his reign to the nation."† Almost all the craftsmen and artisans had been killed in the long wars, and manufactures had nearly disappeared; therefore he invited industrious and ingenious mechanics from England, France, and the Low Countries, offering them good pay and privileges, and the steady protection of the law. "Of which," says Drummond, "such a fair number came, and were so graciously received, that they forgot their native countries, and here made their perpetual abode: and what till this day Scotland enjoyeth of them, owes all its beginning to these times." He had vowed upon coming to the throne, that if God would but grant him life, he would make the property of the poorest man as secure as that of the greatest baron. Learning that poverty was frequently a bar to justice, he decreed that if any man was too poor to pay the law fees, then the king, "for the love of God," should appoint him a judge to see justice done free of expense.

Even when seated on this perilous throne, which was fatal to nearly every one of his name and race, and when surrounded with difficulties, and oppressed with labour—having to see to all things himself—he yet found time

* *Drummond of Hawthornden*.—Hist. of Scot. † *Id.*

to devote to his two darling pursuits—poetry and music. Drummond says he wrote verses, both Latin and English, of which many were extant at the time he composed his history. If the bard of Hawthornden had only given the titles of these poems and a few specimens of them, not a little controversy might have been avoided in our day. Besides the ‘King’s Quair,’ which is indisputably his production, the two humorous poems in the Scottish dialect, called ‘Peebles to the Play,’ and ‘Christ’s Kirk on the Green,’ and the two famous comic ballads, ‘The Gaberlunzie Man,’ and ‘The Jolly Beggar,’ have been attributed to James. As for the two ballads, it now seems to be admitted on all sides that they were written neither by him nor by his equally accomplished and equally unfortunate descendant, James V., the victim at Flodden Field. About the authorship of the two humorous Scottish poems, opinions are still somewhat divided. Mr. George Chalmers, the best editor that the royal authors of Scotland have as yet met with, rejects ‘Christ’s Kirk on the Green,’ but assigns ‘Peebles to the Play’ to James I. Bishop Percy and Ritson considered the last-named piece as being indisputably the production of the first James. Lord Hailes,



we agree with Mr. Craik* and with others who have considered the subject attentively, that neither 'Peebles to the Play,' nor 'Christ's Kirk on the Green,' was written by James I., or by any poet of his time. They are both clearly the production of the same period, and of a period much later than that of the first James. Unless one be an imitation of the other, they are both from the same hand, and, we believe, they may be pretty safely allotted to James V.

During his captivity in Windsor Castle, James had diligently studied the works of Chaucer and Gower; and in the concluding stanza of the King's Quair he gracefully and gratefully acknowledges his obligations unto his

"maisters dear,
Gower and Chaucer, that on the steppes sate
Of Rhetoric while they were livand here,
Superlative as poets laureate,
Of morality and eloquence ornate."

It was by a happy and truly poetical coincidence that the lady so suddenly seen in the garden at Windsor, and so fondly loved from that first sight, should be the grand-daughter of Chaucer's friend and patron, John of Gaunt, who married the sister of that great poet's wife. It should appear that the writings of Chaucer were altogether unknown in Scotland until the return of James I.; but from that period Chaucer became the one great model of the Scottish poets.

It has generally been thought that James was the means of improving the music as much as the poetry of his country; that he composed various airs and pieces of sacred music; and that he was in fact the father of the peculiar, plaintive, and characteristic melody of Scotland. It is probable, however, that, as in other matters, our Scottish writers have been misled by their eager wish to make that which is old more ancient than it really is. The only basis of their musical hypothesis is a single short and not very clear passage in an Italian writer of the seventeenth century. Alessandro Tassoni,

* *Sketches of the Hist. of Literature and Learning in England.*

author of the mock-heroic poem 'La Secchia Rapita,' or the 'Rape of the Bucket,' and of various less known works, says in his 'Dieci Libri di Pensieri Diversi' (or 'Ten Books of Divers Thoughts,' which was published at Venice in 1636), in a chapter on the old question, whether the ancient musicians surpassed the modern or the modern the ancient,* "We may also enumerate among our musicians (*tra nostri*) James, King of Scotland, who not only composed sacred things for singing, but found out of himself a new music, pathetic and sad, and different from every other music, in the which he has since been imitated by Don Carlo Gesualdo, Prince of Venosa, who, in this our age, has improved music with new and admirable inventions." Tassoni gives no numeral after his King James; and when he wrote there had been six Jameses upon the throne of Scotland. Besides, James I., James IV., and James V. had been greatly distinguished by their love of music and their proficiency in it; and it appears on the whole rather more probable that the Italian meant to speak of James V., who was killed in 1513, and who was a great employer of foreign artists, than of James I., who died in the preceding century. As there is no number after the James, as no date is mentioned,

ings, the style of living, the pageantries and amusements of the court, and even the sports and amusements of the people, were all improved by him; and in his days he found time to be present at, and take part in, the popular pastimes and exercises.

"the delicate soft time, the reign of the mild arts," that "sweet condition of life" which James I. had enjoyed, were suddenly interrupted by his barbarous murder.

The patrimony of the crown had been wasted by the late Albany and his son Murdoch, who had alienated the royal domains in order to conciliate the selfish and ambitious nobility, while some of the barons had helped themselves without any grant. The king caused an execution to be made into numerous grants and titles, and in several cases, took possession of crown lands to which they really gave no right. From this moment the king began to cabal against him. His close connection with France roused the jealousy of England; and in 1435, he sent his infant daughter Margaret to be betrothed to the Dauphin (afterwards Louis). He became involved in a dispute with the English government, and these disputes led to a war. On the following year James marched with a formidable army to order and laid siege to Roxburgh Castle, which was occupied by Sir Ralph Gray. While he was engaged in this siege, his wife, Queen Jane, came suddenly to his camp, and, after some conference with her in private, he raised the siege, disbanded most of the army, accompanied by some chosen bands of his most trusted friends, returned hastily towards the north.

Queen Jane had discovered a conspiracy directed against his throne and life. This was in the month of August, 1436. The contriver and main leader of this treacherous plot was Sir Robert Graham, a man of the stoutest and most resolute character, "that dared give his opinion upon those things which no honest man ever thought."* This Graham, being warned in time,

* *Drummond of Hawthornden.*

fled into the wildest parts of the Highlands before the king could reach him. There he began to collect an armed force, while his unsuspected associates and brother conspirators, the Earl of Athole and his grandson Sir Robert Stuart, continued about the king, lulling him into security, and watching for an opportunity to take him off. Athole was the king's uncle, and between eighty and ninety years of age; his grandson, Sir Robert, held the office of chamberlain in the royal household, and had constant access to James, by whom he appears to have been implicitly trusted. As that season approached, the king announced his intention of keeping his Christmas in the great monastery of the Black Friars at St. Johnstoun (Perth). Several warnings were given to him in the shape of interpreted omens and predictions, but he would not understand them as they were meant, and he set out with his queen and court. On the right bank of the Forth a Highland spae-wife, or prophetess, or fortune-teller, raised her voice and said, "If you cross that water, you will never return alive." No doubt the spae-woman, without any supernatural means, had obtained some knowledge of the plot, or of what Sir Robert Graham was doing in the Highlands; but Sir Robert Stuart, the traitorous chamberlain, or some



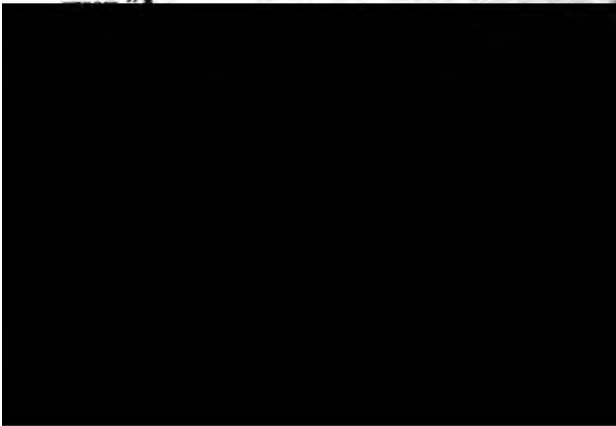
The usher told the woman that the king was "busy in playing," and so bade her come again upon the morrow. "Well," said the woman, "it shall repent ye all that ye will not let me speak now with the king." "Thereat the usher laughed, and held her but a fool, charging her to go her way, and, therewithal, she went thence." Every man departed, and the monastery was still. "Then Robert Stuart, who was right familiar with the king, and had all his commandments in the chamber, was the last that departed; and he left the doors leading to the king's apartment open; and he had burst and blundered the locks in such wise that no man might shut them; and about midnight he laid certain planks and hurdles over the ditches that environ the garden, and upon these the said traitors entered—that is to say, Sir Robert Graham, with others of his covine, unto the number of three hundred persons." The king, who had prepared for bed, was standing in his nightgown talking and laughing with the queen, and other ladies and gentlewomen with her. "But he hearkened and heard great noise without, and great clattering of harness, and men armed, with great sight of torches. Then he remembered him, and imagined anon that it should be the false traitorous knight, his deadly enemy, Sir Robert Graham. And suddenly the queen, with all the other ladies and gentlewomen, ran to the outer chamber door, and found it open; and they would have shut it, but the locks were so blundered that they neither could nor might shut it." James called to them to make good the door as best they could, and rushing to one of the windows he attempted to burst open the iron bars with which it was secured; "but the bars were so square and so strongly soldered in the stones with molten lead," that he could not do it. He then started to the chimney and took the iron tongs, and ran into an inner cabinet, and mightily burst up a plank of the floor, "and entered adown low beneath," replacing the plank before he descended. It was a foul hiding-place for king or clown! It was all hard stone within, and had no window or issue save a square hole near the bottom. Yet through this

hole the king might well have escaped, if he had not caused it to be blocked up with stone three days before, because when he played at the paume (tennis) the balls would often run in at that foul hole. "And so there was for the king neither rescue nor remedy, but there he must abide, alas the while! . . . The traitors without laid at the chamber door with hammers, with levers, and with axes, so that at the last they break up all, and entered (because the doors were not fast shut) with swords, axes, glaives, bills, and other terrible and fearful weapons. Amongst the great press of the which traitors there was a fair lady sore hurt in the back; and other gentlewomen made a sorrowful shrieking, and ran away for the hideous fear of those boisterous and merciless men of arms. The traitors furiously passed forth into the chambers, and found the queen so dismayed and abashed that she could neither speak nor withdraw. And as so she stood there, so astounded as a creature that had lost her kindly reason, one of the traitors wounded her full villainously, and would have slain her if it had not been for one of Sir Robert Graham's sons, that thus spake to him and said, 'For shame of yourself! what will ye do to the queen? She is but a woman. Let us go seek the king!' And then not witting well



they could not find in any of the said chambers the king, that he of necessity had hid himself in that cabinet. And therefore he said to his fellows, 'Come on with me, and I shall readily tell you where the king is!' For the same Thomas Chambers had been afore right familiar with the king in all places; and therefore knew he well all the private corners of those chambers. And so he went straight to the cabinet, and looked well about him, and saw how a plank of the floor had been broken up; and he lift up the plank, and with a torch looking in, he saw the king there beneath, and a woman with him." The fellow called in the other murderers, and one of them, named Sir John Hall, leaped down to the king with a great knife in his hand. James caught him by the throat, and threw him under his feet. "For the king was, of his person and stature, a man right manly strong." A brother of this Hall that then went down to the king was also laid prostrate; and James so maltreated them both under him, that "all, a long month after, men might see how strongly the king had holden them by the throats." "And greatly the king struggled with them, for to have bereaved them of their knives; by the which labour his hands were all sore cut. But an the king had been in anywise armed, he might well have escaped their malice by the length of his fighting with these two false traitors. For if the king might anywhile longer have saved himself, his servants, and much other people of the town, by some fortune should have had some knowledge thereof, and so have come to his succour and help. But alas, the while! it would not be! Fortune was to him adverse Therewithal that odious and false traitor, Sir Robert Graham, seeing the king laboured so sore with those two false traitors which he had cast under his feet, and that he was faint and weary (the more pity was it!) descended down also unto the king with an horrible and mortal weapon in his hand. And then the king cried him mercy. 'Thou cruel tyrant,' quoth Graham to him, 'thou hadst never mercy of lords born of thy blood, nor of none other gentlemen that came in thy danger; therefore no mercy.

shalt thou have here!’ Then said the king, ‘I beseech thee that, for the salvation of my soul, ye will let me have a confessor!’ Quoth the said Graham, ‘Thou shalt never have other confessor than this same sword.’ And therewithal he smote him through the body, and at last the good king fell down. . . . God of his grace and goodness preserved and kept the queen out of their hands. And upon this the noise rose and sprang out, both into the court and into the town. . . . And anon all the king’s servants that were lodged in his said court, and all the other people of the same town, with one will and one assent, as the king’s true men and his liege subjects, came with force and arms, with many a torch and other lights. And when the traitors heard the noise of those commons, they, with all haste possible, fled. But yet in their withdrawing, ere they were fully passed the ditches of the king’s place, a worthy knight that was called Sir Davy Dunbar, alone descried and pursued them, and with his own hand slew one of them, and another he sore wounded. And as he fought with them in their fleeing they cut off three of his fingers of his one hand, and sore wounded him upon his head. And they slew another young man of the king’s chamber that was good



this intellectual and rarely accomplished prince, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his actual reign. He was buried in the Charterhouse of Perth, which he had founded, where the doublet in which he was slain was kept as a relic almost to the time of Drummond of Hawthornden. He had by his fair queen one son and six daughters. The son, who was immediately proclaimed as James II., was only about seven years old, and he was killed at the siege of Roxburgh Castle by the accidental bursting of a cannon before he was thirty. His eldest daughter Margaret was already married to the French Dauphin. Afterwards, one of his daughters married the Earl or Duke of Bretagne, and another Sigismund, Duke of Austria; the remaining three seem to have married into the families of Angus, Huntly, and Morton, though one of them is said to have been at one time the wife of a great lord in Holland.

The king's beloved wife, Queen Jane, survived little more than eight troublous unhappy years. Apparently more for the sake of having one strong enough to protect her than from any love, she married Sir James Stuart, commonly called the Black Knight of Lorne. After being driven from one castle to another, she died in the strong fortress of Dunbar, some time in the year 1445. Her second husband, the Black Knight, was driven from Scotland by the faction of the Douglasses, and died in exile and probably in captivity.

The murderers of James fled into the Highlands, but a curse was upon them all, and within forty days all the principal conspirators were captured, condemned, and put to cruel deaths. The tortures inflicted upon Sir Robert Graham and the old Earl of Athole were horrible and atrocious; but such was the practice of the time, and there is good evidence to show that the common people rejoiced at the sight, and that they preserved in rude rhyme the memory of the execution of the accursed lords that had slain Scotland's best king and the common people's best friend. The meaner sort that were of council in the conspiracy, or that had had art and part in the plot, were simply hanged on gibbets.

"By James," says Drummond, "abuses were reformed, defects repaired, sedition and discord were put from nobles, equity and industry restored to the country; man had a certainty of enjoying his own, and security into all men was either infused a will to do well, necessity of so doing imposed upon them, virtuous actions being honoured, crimes punished. The mean man respected the great, not fear him; the great man did not oppress the mean, not condemn him; favour was mastered by equity, ambition by virtue: for the excellent prince, doing well himself, had taught his subjects so to do. He was the worthiest of all the kings of Scotland till his time: of the former kings it might have been said, that the nation made them kings; but this king made that people a nation." Much of the good he had done in his reign was speedily undone, but his memory was endeared to the people of Scotland for all aftertimes, and the murderous knife, and the anarchy which followed his death could not destroy the written monuments of his genius and accomplishments.





THE reign of King Henry VII. is included in the account of the Wars and the Union of the Red and White Roses written about the middle of the sixteenth century by Edward Hall, the most eloquent of our old English chroniclers ; and it is **also** the subject of one of the noblest historical works, for its extent, in any language, the composition, about eighty years later, of Francis Bacon.

To follow a course of events turning so much upon genealogical claims and the connexion of families, it will be convenient for the reader to keep in mind the following particulars :—

The principal persons who figure in the reign of Henry VII. were descended from the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth sons of King Edward III., the line of whose eldest son, Edward the Black Prince, failed in Richard II., and whose second son William died in *childhood*.

1. From Lionel Duke of Clarence, whose only child Philippa married Edmund Mortimer, third Earl of March, sprung, through her granddaughter Anne Mortimer, who married Richard Earl of Cambridge, son of Edmund Duke of York, the kings of the House of York, Edward IV., his son Edward V., and his brother Richard III.; Edward IV.'s second son Richard Duke of York; the same king's eldest daughter Elizabeth, who eventually became the wife of Henry VII., and thus united the two roses; Edward IV.'s brother George Duke of Clarence, with his son Edward Earl of Warwick, and his daughter Margaret Countess of Salisbury; Edward IV.'s second sister Margaret, who became the wife of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy; his third sister Elizabeth, who married John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and his sons John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln, and Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk. All these personages, of course, were Yorkists.

2. From John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, sprung the three Lancastrian kings, Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI., who were his son, grandson, and great-grandson; and, through John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, his son by a third marriage, that earl's granddaughter Margaret Beaufort, who married Edward Tudor, Earl of



Hadham, who had been created Earl of Richmond in 1525, being the son of Sir Owen Tudor and Queen Katherine, widow of Henry V., and daughter of the French king Charles VI. He was thus paternally descended from the royal house of France and also, it is said, from the ancient sovereigns of Wales, for such is the derivation assigned by the genealogists to the Tudors—indeed, as Camden remarks (in his ‘Remains’) that even with any propriety be considered as the family name which was really merely the Christian name of Owen Tudor’s grandfather, from whom he and his father assumed it as their patronymic. But it was his maternal extraction that gave Henry Tudor his political importance. His mother was Margaret, the only child of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, whose father of the same name was the eldest of the sons of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, the root of the Lancastrian house, by his third wife, Catherine Swinford. The Beauforts, as the children of Gaunt by this wife were named, having been born before marriage, and only subsequently legitimated by a patent entered on the rolls of parliament, which did not to have opened to them the succession to the crown, were not at first looked upon as in themselves or their descendants forming strictly a branch of the House of Lancaster; their name itself distinguished them as another family. But towards the close of the reign of Henry VI. their royal descent and proximity to the throne began to be spoken of as giving them important pretensions. After the termination of the Wars of the Roses the Somerset family remained the only representatives of the House of Lancaster, in England: there were indeed in Portugal, Spain, Germany, and Denmark nearly a dozen descendants of John of Gaunt by his two earlier marriages, some of whom at least, namely, those sprung from Henry IV., had clearly a prior place in the line of succession to the Beauforts, and the legitimization of the latter been ever so perfect; but the circumstances of the time were not such as to allow any validity to these foreign titles. After Richard

III. obtained the throne, only two really formidable members of the House of Lancaster survived, namely, this Henry Earl of Richmond, and Henry Duke of Buckingham, whose mother was also a Margaret Beaufort, a great-granddaughter of John of Gaunt. But her father was a younger brother of the father of the Countess of Richmond, whose son therefore undoubtedly stood first in the line of the family succession.

The following anecdotes are related by Bacon at the close of his History of Henry VII. : " When the Lady Margaret, his mother, had divers grand suitors for marriage, she dreamed one night that one in the likeness of a bishop in pontifical habit did tender her Edmund Earl of Richmond, the king's father, for her husband ; neither had she ever any child but the king, though she had three husbands. One day when King Henry VI., whose innocency gave him holiness, was washing his hands at a great feast, and cast his eye upon King Henry, then a young youth, he said, ' This is the lad that shall possess quietly that that we now strive for.' " Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, died in 1456, the same year in which his son Henry was born. Throughout the stormy period that followed, the child found a protector in his uncle Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, till on



came, at that school. After the battle of Tewkesbury he seems to have been sent back to Ragland Castle, and he have remained there till his uncle, who had fled to France, returned secretly, and found means to carry him off to his own castle of Pembroke. Upon this Edward immediately took measures to recover possession of the boy, but his uncle at last contrived to embark with him at Tenby with the intention of proceeding to France. They were forced, however, by stress of weather to put into a port of Bretagne, and there they were detained by the duke, Francis II. But, although this prince would not suffer them to pursue their journey, he allowed them an honourable maintenance, and as much liberty as was consistent with his design that they should not pass out of his dominions, nor, although repeatedly importuned by King Edward to deliver them up, would he ever listen to the proposal. Henry continued resident in these circumstances in the town of Vannes in Bretagne till after the accession of Richard III.

As soon as it came to be known that Edward V. and his brother no longer existed, a fact which Richard III. himself took pains to publish, without any attempt to make it appear that they had not been taken off by violence, the minds of men turned to the young Earl of Richmond as the most eligible opponent to set up against the actual possessor of the crown. Morton, Bishop of Ely, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury and cardinal, has the credit of having first suggested to the heads of his party, that the crown should be offered to Henry on condition of his engaging to espouse the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., and, since the death of her brothers, the undoubted heiress of the rights of the House of York. The scheme received the assent of the leaders of the various interests already confederated against Richard—of the queen dowager, of her son the Marquis of Dorset, and of the Duke of Buckingham, whatever were the motives that had induced the last-mentioned nobleman to make his sudden change from the one side to the other. Communications were immediately entered into with Henry's mother the Countess of Rich-

mond, and she also entered cordially into the design, although her present husband Lord Stanley had all along steadily adhered to Richard, with whom he at present was. A messenger was now despatched to Henry in Bretagne, September 24, 1483, and he was informed that the general rising in his favour would take place on the 18th of October. The issue of this first attempt was eminently disastrous to the confederacy of the earl's friends. Henry sailed from St. Malo with a fleet of forty sail, which he had been enabled to provide partly by the assistance of the Duke of Bretagne; but a storm dispersed his ships as he crossed the Channel, and when he reached the English coast near Poole he deemed it prudent, with the insufficient force that he had remaining, not to land. Meanwhile the hasty, ill-combined revolt of Buckingham and his associates fell to pieces without the striking of a blow. Buckingham himself was taken and executed as a traitor; of the other chief persons engaged in the attempt, several underwent the same fate; others escaped death by flight; many were attainted, among the rest the Countess of Richmond, whose life was only spared at the intercession of her husband Lord Stanley. Henry himself returned to Bretagne, and here at Christmas, in the presence of a meeting of the Eng-



the 7th landed at Milford-Haven in Wales. The two rivals encountered at Bosworth in Leicestershire, on the 22nd, when the result was that Henry obtained a complete victory, which, with the death of Richard, who fell in the battle, at once placed the crown on his head. This was afterwards reckoned the first day of his reign, an arrangement by which only those who had actually drawn their swords against him at Bosworth were made to be guilty of treason; and whatever acts had been done in the service of the usurper (as Richard was considered) up to the eve of that battle, were overlooked.*

Henry, immediately after this victory, "as one," says Bacon, "that had been bred under a devout mother, and was in his nature a great observer of religious forms, caused *Te Deum laudamus* to be solemnly sung in the presence of the whole army upon the place, and was himself with general applause and great cries of joy, in a kind of military election or recognition, saluted king." In the same evening he marched on with his army to Leicester, and entered in triumphal pomp that town, from whence his rival had gone forth in nearly equally gorgeous pride and state the day before. Hither, also, the dead body of Richard was brought, "naked," says Hall, "and despoiled to the skin, . . . and was trussed behind a pursuivant of arms called Blanch Sanglier, or White Boar, like a hog or a calf; the head and arms hanging on the one side of the horse, and the legs on the other side; and, all besprinkled with mire and blood, was brought to the Grey Friars' Church." Here it was interred obscurely, and without any funeral solemnity, "after many indignities and reproaches," says Bacon, "the dirges and obsequies of the common people towards tyrants." According to Hall, when his death was known, "few

* Sir Harris Nicolas, however, in his *Chronology of History*, pp. 309-313, although he adopts the unanimous account of the chroniclers, that Henry's reign began on the 22nd, has stated some reasons for suspecting that it was legally reckoned from the 21st, the day before the battle of Bosworth.

lamented and many rejoiced ;" and " the proud bragging white boar, which was his badge, was violently razed and plucked down from every sign and place where it might be espied." The motive assigned by the chronicler, however—" so ill was his life, that men wished the memory of him to be buried with his carrion corpse"—may be presumed to have been, at least, not the only reason for this last procedure.

The new king rested at Leicester for two days. While here, he despatched Sir Robert Willoughby to the castle of Sheriff Hutton, in Yorkshire, where both the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., and her cousin Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, son and heir of the late Duke of Clarence, had been confined by order of their uncle the late king. The earl, a boy in his fifteenth year, was conducted by Willoughby to the Tower of London, and there shut up; and the princess was also directed to repair with all convenient speed to the capital, " which accordingly she soon after did," Bacon tells us, " accompanied with many noblemen and ladies of honour." " In the mean season," continues this historian, " the king set forwards by easy journeys to the city of London, receiving the acclamations and applauses of



and shouted, crying, 'King Henry! King Henry!'" "But," proceeds this chronicler, "when he approached near the city, the mayor, the senate, and the magistrates of the same, being all clothed in violet, met him at Sheroditch, and not only saluted and welcomed him with one voice in general, but every person particularly pressed and advanced himself gladly to touch and kiss that victorious hand which had overcome so monstrous and cruel a tyrant, giving lauds and praises to Almighty God, and rendering immortal thanks to him by whose mean and industry the commonwealth of the realm was preserved from final destruction and perpetual calamity, and the authors of the mischief sublated and plucked away. And with great pomp and triumph he rode through the city to the Cathedral Church of St. Paul, where he offered his three standards. In the one was the image of St. George; in the second was a red fiery dragon beaten upon white and green sarcenet; the third was of yellow tartern, in the which was painted a dun cow. After his prayers said, and *Te Deum* sung, he departed to the bishop's palace, and there sojourned a season, during which time plays, pastimes, and pleasures were showed in every part of the city." Bacon observes, that "to disperse the conceit and terror of a conquest," he had given orders that his journey should bear no resemblance to a warlike march, but that it should be "rather like unto the progress of a king in full peace and assurance." It is added, that "he entered the city upon a Saturday, as he had also obtained the victory upon a Saturday; which day of the week, first upon an observation, and after, upon memory and fancy, he accounted and chose as a day prosperous unto him."* He took care, however, not to begin his reign by making himself too common; he appeared, we are told, on this

* This, however, is a mistake. The 22nd of August, 1485, on which the battle of Bosworth was fought, was a Monday. But King Henry entered the city on the 27th, which would be on the Saturday thereafter, as we learn from *Stow*.

occasion, "not on horseback, or in any open chariot or throne, but in a close chariot, as one that having been sometimes an enemy to the whole state, and a proscribed person, chose rather to keep state and strike a reverence into the people than to fawn upon them." But in this interpretation we may have not so much the motive or intention of Henry, as the refining political sagacity or imagination of his historian.

The reader has sufficiently seen with what fervour and fierceness of virtuous indignation the chronicler Hall is animated against the beaten party in the great civil quarrel which had thus been brought to a close. Speaking of the Lady Elizabeth, "whom," he says, "King Richard, foolishly fantasying and devilishly doting, did intend to marry," he adds, "But the damsel did not alonely disagree and repudiate that matrimony, but abhorred and detested greatly his abominable desire. At which most importunate and detestable concupiscence the common people of the realm so much grudged and maligned, that they did not only attribute the fault and crime to the king, but much more culpate and blame his privy councillors, which did not dissent but consent to so pernicious a council and so shameful a conclusion.



such amies, for she died in the next month, March. When the midst and last of February [1485] was past, the Lady Elizabeth, being more impatient and jealous of the success than any one knew or conceived, writes a letter to the Duke of Norfolk, intimating first, that he was the man in whom she affied, in respect of that love her father had ever borne him, &c. Then she congratulates his many courtesies, in continuance of which she desires him to be a mediator for her to the king in the behalf of the marriage propounded between them; who, as she wrote, was her only joy and maker in this world, and that she was his in heart and thought: withal insinuating that the better part of February was past, and that she feared the Queen would never die. All these be her own words, written with her own hand; and this is the sum of her letter, which remains in the autograph, or original draught under her own hand, in the magnificent cabinet of Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey." Richard's first scheme had been to marry Elizabeth to his son Edward; and it was after that prince died (in April, 1484) that he proposed to make her his own wife. Both she and her mother would probably have been equally pleased with either arrangement. At this time Richard was only in his thirty-second year, Elizabeth herself being nineteen. It is believed that after he was left a widower by the death of Queen Anne (on the 16th of March, 1485,—not without suspicion of having been poisoned), he was dissuaded from marrying Elizabeth by his two confidants, Radcliffe and Catesby, who warned him of the popular outcry such a step would excite. He then took great pains to proclaim that nothing of the kind had ever been contemplated.

All this, however, was not likely to prepossess Henry in favour of the match which circumstances imposed upon him; nor, whatever might be the national wish, was he desirous to make it appear as if he owed his crown in any degree to his marriage with the heiress of the House of York. He was accordingly in no hurry to raise Elizabeth to the throne which she was so ambitious to mount. His own coronation took place on the 30th

of October, immediately after the disappearance of what was then a new disease, the sweating, or sweating sickness, which had broken out both in London and other parts of the kingdom towards the end (Stow says on the 21st) of September, and had proved frightfully destructive. Two Lord Mayors of London were carried off by it within a week, and four aldermen were also among its victims. The ceremony of the coronation was performed in Westminster Abbey, the crown being set upon the king's head by Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury. "At which day also," writes Bacon, "as if the crown upon his head did put perils into his thoughts, he did institute, for the better security of his person, a band of fifty archers under a captain, to attend him, by the name of yeomen of his guard; and yet, that it might be thought to be rather a matter of dignity, after the imitation of that he had known abroad, than any matter of diffidence appropriate to his own case, he made it to be understood for an ordinance not temporary, but to hold in succession for ever after."

The parliament met at Westminster that day week. It enacted that "the inheritance of the crown should be, rest, remain, and abide in the most royal person of the



l with greater triumph and demonstrations, especially on the people's part, of joy and gladness, than the either of his entry or coronation, which the king noted than liked. And it is true that all his life-while the Lady Elizabeth lived with him, for she before him, he shewed himself no very indulgent and towards her, though she was beautiful, gentle, fruitful. But his aversion towards the House of was so predominant in him, as it found place not in his wars and councils, but in his chamber and

saking now, according to Bacon, "full of confidence assurance, as a prince that had been victorious in , and had prevailed with his parliament in all that sired, and had the ring of acclamations fresh in his thought the rest of his reign should be but play, he enjoying of a kingdom." But it was not to be ted that a reign commencing in such circumstances d be undisturbed by insurrectionary attempts. A sion of such movements kept Henry in disqui- for many years. The first that occurred was that ed by Francis Viscount Lovel, in April, 1546, a was speedily and effectually put down. The dis- urance of this danger was followed, in September, e delivery of the queen, at Winchester, of her first who was named Arthur, after the famous old Bri- ting. "The child," Bacon remarks, "was strong ble, though he was born in the eighth month, which physicians do prejudice"—that is, are prejudiced st, or hold to be unfavourable.

t before the end of the same year a new commotion e state, more formidable than the last, broke out. a admits that Henry, though contrary to what he ved, was still "not without much hatred throughout calm." "The root of all," adds the historian, s the discountenancing of the House of York, which eneral body of the realm still affected. This did te the hearts of the subjects from him daily more more, especially when they saw that, after his mar- and after a son born, the king did nevertheless not

so much as proceed to the coronation of the queen, not vouchsafing her the honour of a matrimonial crown; for the coronation of her was not till almost two years after, when danger had taught him what to do." The dissatisfaction greatly increased when it came to be rumoured that Edward Plantagenet was intended to be secretly made away with in the Tower: the popular belief of this made Henry be thought almost as blood-thirsty a tyrant as Richard, whom he had supplanted. And all this while, Bacon confesses, it was still whispered everywhere that at least one of the children of Edward the Fourth was living. "Neither," he adds, "was the king's nature and customs greatly fit to disperse these mists, but, contrariwise, he had a fashion rather to create doubts than assurance." In this state of things, a priest of Oxford, called Richard (or, according to others, William) Simon, or Simonds, is supposed to have originated the bold project of setting up as a claimant for the crown his pupil Lambert Simnell, the son of a baker, or, as another account has it, of an organ-maker, of that town. Simnell was about fifteen years of age, and he is described by Bacon as "a comely youth, and well favoured, not without some extraordinary dignity and grace of



in the business; and he adds, "That which is most probable, out of the precedent and subsequent acts, is, that it was the queen dowager from whom this action had the principal source and motion. For certain it is, she was a busy negotiating woman, and in her withdrawing chamber had the fortunate conspiracy for the king against King Richard the Third been hatched; which the king knew, and remembered perhaps but too well; and [she] was at this time extremely discontent with the king, thinking her daughter, as the king handled the matter, not advanced, but depressed; and none could hold the book so well to prompt and instruct this stage-play as she could." Edward IV.'s sister, Margaret Duchess of Burgundy, also gave her countenance and effective aid to the enterprise of the pretender. "This princess," says Bacon, "having the spirit of a man, and malice of a woman, abounding in treasure by the greatness of her dower and her provident government, and being childless and without any nearer care, made it her design and enterprise to see the majesty royal of England once again replaced in her house; and had set up King Henry as a mark at whose overthrow all her actions should aim and shoot; insomuch as all the counsels of his succeeding troubles came chiefly out of that quiver. And she bare such a mortal hatred to the House of Lancaster, and personally to the king, as she was no ways mollified by the conjunction of the Houses in her niece's marriage, but rather hated her niece, as the means of the king's ascent to the crown and assurance therein." The design of the Yorkists in thus patronizing the pretensions of Simnell was of course merely to make use of him for effecting their first object, the ejection of the reigning king; after which he himself would have been very easily disposed of. It is astonishing to what a height of temporary success the project attained. Simon, having taken his pupil over to Ireland, there presented him to the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Kildare, by whom he was at once recognised as the person he called himself. Kildare had been one of the chiefs of the Yorkist party, and it is impossible to believe that he had

not been from the first taken into the conspiracy. His acquiescence in the imposture naturally produced an immense effect. After a few days Simnell was proclaimed king, in Dublin, by the name of Edward the Sixth, with apparently the universal assent of the population of all classes. The boy, Bacon allows, became the part he acted well, and did nothing that betrayed the baseness of his real condition. The scheme, however, was too inherently hollow and flimsy to be long kept up. The first thing Henry did was to shut up the queen dowager in the nunnery of Bermondsey, and to seize all her lands and goods—with his characteristic indirectness, however, professing to visit her with that punishment for having, after her agreement for the marriage of her daughter with himself, delivered Elizabeth out of sanctuary into the hands of King Richard. At this proceeding “there was,” says Bacon, “much wondering ;—that a weak woman, for the yielding to the menaces and promises of a tyrant, after such a distance of time, wherein the king had shown no displeasure nor alteration, but much more after so happy a marriage between the king and her daughter, blessed with issue male, should, upon a sudden mutability or disclosure of the king’s mind, be so severely handled.” “This lady,” adds the noble histo-



her grandmother to a grandchild of the best sex, yet she, upon dark and unknown reasons, and no less huge pretences, precipitated and banished the world-consummery, where it was almost thought dangerous to visit her or see her, and where, not long after, she led her life; but was, by the king's commandment, next with the king her husband, at Windsor." The son of Edward IV., originally Elizabeth Woodville, Wydeville, and, before she was raised to the throne, a wife of Sir John Grey, is supposed to have survived about the year 1492. It appears that she was not at all this while in close confinement; when the such-ambassadors were introduced to her daughter at Westminster, in November, 1489, she is, in a contemporary record, expressly stated to have been present, as well as the king's mother, the Countess of Richmond. Upon this and other circumstances, Dr. Lingard is inclined to doubt altogether the fact of her apprehension on the present occasion; but a story so distinctly told by all the old authorities, by Polydore Virgil, as well as Hall, whom Bacon follows, can hardly be supposed to be a pure fiction.

Another measure, however, that Henry adopted was more suited to tell immediately with a favourable effect on the popular mind. On a Sunday he had the true-bred Plantagenet brought out from the Tower, and, as being carried through all the principal streets of London, conducted in solemn procession to St. Paul's, where," says Bacon, "great store of people were assembled. And it was provided also in good fashion that some of the nobility, and others of quality, especially those that the king most suspected, and [that] knew the person of Plantagenet best, had communication with the young gentleman by the way, and entertained him with speech and discourse; which did in effect mar the giant in Ireland with the subjects here, at least with many as out of error, and not out of malice, might be misled. Nevertheless, in Ireland, where it was too late to go back, it wrought little or no effect. But, contrariwise, they turned the imposture upon the king, and

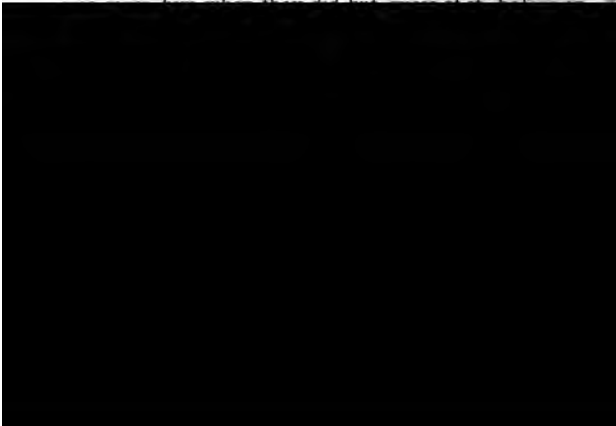
gave out that the king, to defeat the true inheritor, and to mock the world, and blind the eyes of simple men, had tricked up a boy in the likeness of Edward Plantagenet, and showed him to the people, not sparing to profane the ceremony of a procession, the more to countenance the fable."

The affair did not end without being brought to the arbitrement of the sword. The Duchess of Burgundy having sent over a force of two thousand veterans under an experienced officer, Martin Swartz, these Germans landed at Dublin; the young Earl of Lincoln, son of Edward IV.'s sister the Duchess of Suffolk, who had recently gone over to his aunt in Burgundy, accompanying them. It was now decided that the pretender should undergo the ceremony of a coronation. In all haste, accordingly, the people from all quarters assembled, Stow tells us, "at Divelin, or Dublin, and there, in Christ's Church, they crowned their idol, honouring him with titles imperial, feasting and triumphing, rearing mighty shouts and cries, carrying him thence to the king's castle upon tall men's shoulders, that he might be seen and noted, as he was surely an honourable boy to look upon." Other accounts state that he was carried from the church to the castle on the shoulders of an English chieftain



English leader of the insurrection, is said to have been endeavouring to swim over the Trent on horse-
 and one report makes him to have been drowned
 attempt; another, to have made his way to his
 use of Minster Lovell, in Oxfordshire, where it
 hat about two hundred years after there was found
 umber under ground the skeleton of a man, seated
 ir, with his head reclined on a table, which was
 d to be the fugitive lord, perhaps left there to
 hrough neglect. Another of the English leaders,
 omas Broughton, whom the common accounts
 o have been killed, is also reported by tradition
 effected his escape, and to have lived, till his
 concealed among his tenants at Witherslack, in
 reland. The pretender himself, and the priest
 r, were both taken prisoners. "For Lambert,"
 con, "the king would not take his life; both out
 animity, taking him but as an image of wax that
 ad tempered and moulded; and likewise out of
 , thinking that, if he suffered death, he would be
 n too soon, but, being kept alive, he would be a
 al spectacle, and a kind of remedy against the
 hantment of people in time to come. For which
 e was taken into service in his court to a base
 i his kitchen; so that, in a kind of *mattacina*
 ime] of human fortune, he turned a broach that
 n a crown; whereas fortune commonly does not
 a comedy or farce after a tragedy. And after-
 e was preferred to be one of the king's falconers.
 he priest, he was committed close prisoner, and
 f no more; the king loving to seal up his own
 ." It was after the suppression of this outbreak
 the 25th of November, the queen was at length
 y crowned in Westminster Abbey.
 he attempts of the House of York to regain pos-
 of the throne did not end with this first discom-
 The imposture of Simnell was followed, after a
 urs, by the appearance of the more celebrated
 er Perkin Warbeck. This singular affair occupies
 ighty octavo pages of Bacon's history, and it has

been the subject of a world of controversy in more recent times. Of course, we can here attempt only the most rapid outline of the story. The new competitor for the throne was first heard of in the beginning of May, 1492. Bacon introduces him as a spirit or ghost, raised up to walk and vex the king by the magic arts of the Duchess of Burgundy, whom, he says, Henry's friends called Juno, "because she was to him as Juno was to Aeneas, stirring both heaven and hell to do him mischief." The proper name of the boy called Perkin Warbeck is affirmed to have been Peter Osbeck; his father having been John Osbeck, a converted Jew of Tournay, who was married to Catherine de Faro, and who was led by his business to come and reside for some time in London with his wife, in the days of King Edward IV.; "during which time," according to Bacon's account, "he had a son by her, and, being known in court, the king, either out of a religious nobleness, because he was a convert, or upon some private acquaintance, did him the honour to be godfather to his child, and named him Peter. But afterwards, proving a dainty and effeminate youth, he was commonly called by the diminutive of his name, Peterkin or Perkin; for, as for the name of Warbeck, it



“ he had such a crafty and bewitching fashion, to move pity and to induce belief, as was like a kind of imitation and enchantment to those that saw him or him.” He had also, we are told, “ been from his youth such a wanderer, or, as the king called him, a land-loper, as it was extreme hard to hunt out his parents. Neither, again, could any man, by any or conversing with him, be able to say or detect what he was, he did so flit from place to place.”

When he was yet a child, according to this version of the story, he was carried back to Tournay by his parents, and there he grew up he moved much about from town to town in Flanders, all the while, however, associating with natives of England, and so acquiring a perfect command of the language. At last he was brought to the notice of Burgundy, who soon discerned the use that might be made of him, and, keeping him by her for some while, though in extreme secrecy, set herself dilige-ntly to tutor him for the part she designed he should play. Her scheme was that he should personate Richard of York, supposed to have been murdered in the

1482; with whose age his own nearly agreed. To avoid its being suspected that she had had any hand in the matter, she shipped him off in the first instance to Portugal; and there he remained about a year, when he sailed from Lisbon in a merchant vessel, and was conveyed to Ireland at the time we have mentioned. The vessel cast anchor in the Cove of Cork, on the 5th of May, 1492. The young man, who appeared to be about twenty or twenty-one years old, immediately upon landing, announced himself as the Duke of York, and wrote to the lords of Desmond and Kildare, desiring them to come to him in the recovery of his rights.

Soon after this, the adventurer was invited by the English king, Charles VIII., to come over to Paris, and accordingly he proceeded; but, upon a peace being concluded between the two countries in November, he was warned by Charles to make off with himself; and he repaired to Brussels, to the court of the Duchess of Burgundy. After questioning him about everything,

the duchess professed to be quite satisfied that he was her nephew. "Thereupon she gave him," says Bacon, "the delicate title of the 'White Rose of England,' and appointed him a guard of thirty persons, halberdiers, clad in a party-coloured livery of murrey and blue, to attend his person. Her court likewise, and generally the Dutch and strangers, in their usage towards him, expressed no less respect. The news hereof came blazing and thundering over into England, that the Duke of York was sure alive."

The effect was that a number of eminent persons soon associated themselves in a secret combination to support the pretender—among them being Sir William Stanley, the Lord Chamberlain of the Household. By these persons Sir Robert Clifford was secretly sent over to Brussels; and he, either won over by the duchess, or actually convinced, wrote back to his employers that the young man was undoubtedly the Duke of York. But Henry also now set his enginery at work. "There is a strange tradition," says Bacon, "that the king, being lost in a wood of suspicions, and not knowing whom to trust, had both intelligence with the confessors and chaplains of divers great men, and, for the better credit of his espials



and fearful prodigy." Stanley had saved Henry's battle of Bosworth, and had in the moment of it the crown he had won upon his head; the king had raised him to be one of the principal persons of the state, and had brought him vast wealth, as well as the highest honours; and he had since been in a close relationship to the new royal family by marriage of his brother with the king's mother. His guilt was so clear that he scarcely attempted to deny it, and, after a few weeks, he was arraigned and condemned to die; and on the 16th of February he was beheaded on Tower Hill, and there beheaded.

In the summer of this year, 1495, the pretender made an expedition, with a few hundred followers, upon the coast of Sandwich and Deal, but was immediately repulsed by the royal forces. In the fight, besides those royal soldiers or rebels that were slain, a hundred and twenty were taken prisoners. "They were brought to London," we are told, "all railed in ropes, and were some of them at London and Wapping, and the others were sent to various places upon the sea-coast of Kent, Sussex, and Norfolk, for sea-marks, or light-houses, to teach people to avoid the coast."

In the beginning of the next year Perkin was forced to flee to Flanders, by an arrangement which Henry succeeded in making with the archduke. He then, after some time in Flanders, and seeing little prospect of encourage-

ment, his account is:—"At Bosworth-field the king was slain in a manner inclosed round about by the troops of the king's army, and in manifest danger of his life; when this was sent by his brother, with three thousand men, to the king, which he performed so that King Richard was slain in the place. . . . For which service the king gave him great gifts; made him his counsellor and chamberlain, which was somewhat contrary to his nature, had winked at the spoils of Bosworth-field, which came almost wholly into his hands, to his infinite enriching." His elder sister, who married the Countess of Richmond, was married to Lord Stanley, afterwards created Earl of Derby. Her third husband; she, his second wife.

ment there, sailed to Scotland, where he was received with great kindness by the young king, James IV., who was at the time eager to find an occasion of quarrel with Henry. James actually gave him in marriage the Lady Catherine Gordon, daughter to the Earl of Huntly, a near kinswoman of his own, and a lady of distinguished beauty. Early in the following year, 1497, he and James invaded England, but were not joined by any portion of the population; and the attempt was repeated a few months afterwards with no better success. Perkin next made his appearance in Cornwall, which was at this time agitated and in confusion from a recent revolt of the people against the collection of a newly imposed tax, which had not been put down till after the insurgents had advanced upon London as far as Blackheath, where they were met by the royal forces, and defeated with great slaughter. He was joined by numbers of the Cornish men; but, after an unsuccessful attack upon the city of Exeter, when on the 21st of September his followers and the royal army were drawn up in array against each other near Taunton, ready to join battle on the following day, he rode off with a guard of sixty men, and took refuge in the sanctuary of Beaulieu in Hampshire, upon which his adherents threw down their arms. He



of November, Warwick on Tower Hill a few days after. On the scaffold Perkin recited his former confession, "taking on his death," says Stow, "the same to be true; and so he and John a Water [formerly Mayor of Cork, who was executed along with him] asked the king forgiveness, and took their deaths patiently."

When Perkin first fled to sanctuary, instant means had been taken to get possession of the Lady Catherine Gordon, then residing in St. Michael's Mount, Cornwall, where she had been placed by her husband, "whom," says Bacon, "in all fortunes she entirely loved, adding the virtues of a wife to the virtues of her sex." "The king," he adds, "sent in the greater diligence, not knowing whether she might be with child, whereby the business would not have ended in Perkin's person. When she was brought to the king, it was commonly said that the king received her not only with compassion but with affection; pity giving more impression to her excellent beauty. Wherefore, comforting her, to serve as well his eye as his fame, he sent her to his queen to remain with her; giving her very honourable allowance for the support of her estate, which she enjoyed both during the king's life and many years after. The name of the White Rose, which had been given to her husband's false title, was continued in common speech to her true beauty."

From this time Henry's reign was one of complete internal tranquillity, of which he chiefly took advantage to augment his revenue and his hoarded treasures—extracting money from his subjects on all sorts of pretences, which were not the less oppressive for being generally legal in their form and colour. The English law at this time, if only stretched as far as it would go, was abundantly sufficient for the purposes of the most exorbitant tyranny. The chief instruments of Henry's rapacity were two lawyers, Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, names immortalized by the detestation of their country.

Henry was early in his reign involved in the politics of the Continent by the quarrel which arose between

Francis Duke of Bretagne and Charles VIII. of France, with both of whom he had been connected before he came to the throne, and each of whom applied to him for his assistance. This quarrel, by the death of Francis, soon after it broke out, leaving only two daughters, one of whom also soon afterwards died, became in fact a contest for the possession of Bretagne on the part of France. This was an object to which the public mind in England was strongly opposed; but, although Henry was forced to appear to go along with the national feeling, he deferred taking any steps to prevent the subjugation of the Bretons till it was too late. The money that was eagerly voted by parliament to fit out an expedition, he collected very carefully; but, instead of fighting, he endeavoured to manage the matter by the cheaper method of negotiation.—Afterwards indeed, in the spring of 1489, he found himself compelled to equip a small force, which proceeded to Bretagne; but he had previously assured the French government that if the troops were sent they should act only on the defensive—an engagement which was faithfully kept. Charles eventually compelled the Duchess of Bretagne to marry him, after she had been affianced to Maximilian, the King of the Romans; and the duchy was thus finally



gulate the relations of the two kingdoms to the reign.

cessive truces with James III. and James IV., with Scotland was preserved till 1495, when, recommendation of the French king and the of Burgundy, Perkin Warbeck was received in om as the rightful heir of the English crown. rbeck's final discomfiture, however, in 1497, a was concluded between the two countries, to e expiration of a year after both kings should and this led in 1502 to a treaty of perpetual nented by the marriage of James with Henry's ghter, the Princess Margaret. This marriage, h flowed, after the lapse of a century, the im- litical result of the union of the two crowns, ized at Edinburgh on the 8th of August, 1503. orted, Bacon informs us, that, when the project riage was discussed in the council of the Eng- an objection was raised on the ground that it sibly lead to the kingdom of England falling to f Scotland. "Whereunto," continues the his-

he king himself replied; that, if that should be, would be but an accession to England, and not n Scotland, for that the greater would draw the that it was a safer union for England than that . This passed as an oracle, and silenced those d the question."

two years before this, namely, on the 14th shar, 1501, a marriage, long contemplated d upon, had been solemnized between Henry's Arthur, prince of Wales, and Catherine, the ghter of Ferdinand, King of Castile. Arthur who was a prince of the highest promise, died months after; and then it was arranged that should be married to his surviving brother The marriage of Catharine and Arthur proved momentous in its consequences than that of and James.

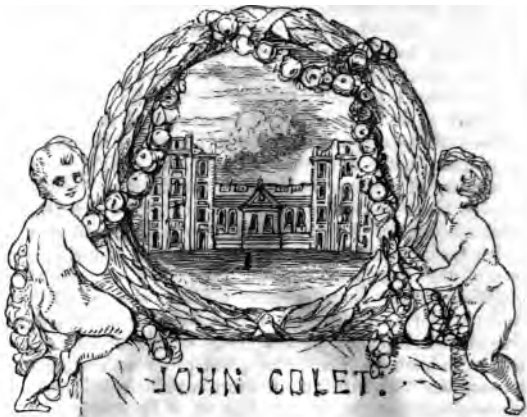
Elizabeth died on February 11th, 1508, a few giving birth to a daughter; on which Henry

lost no time in proceeding to turn his widowhood to account in the acquirement of some political advantage, or in the augmentation of his riches, now his ruling passion, by means of a new matrimonial alliance. One disappointment after another, however, met him in this pursuit; and, after having first made application to the widow of the King of Naples; then concluded a treaty with the Archduke Philip, husband of Joanna, Queen of Castile, for the hand of his sister Margaret, widow of the Duke of Savoy; and finally, on the death of Philip, in September, 1506, once more changed his ground, and proposed himself as the husband of Philip's widow, the Queen Joanna, who was insane—he died before he could accomplish his object. His death took place at Richmond, as the royal palace at Sheen was now called, 22nd April, 1509, in the twenty-fourth year of his reign and the fifty-third of his age.

The children of Henry VII. by his queen Elizabeth of York were—1. Arthur, born 20th September, 1486, created Prince of Wales 1489, married to Catherine of Spain (to whom he had been contracted eleven years before), 14th November, 1501, died at Ludlow Castle, 2nd April, 1502; 2. Margaret, born 29th November, 1489, married to King James IV. of Scotland, 8th August



of his design, has been drawn into some exaggeration or over-refinement; and he has so softened the more repulsive features in his moral character, as much as he has unduly magnified his intellectual endowments. But the difficulties which he occupied, and the success with which he surmounted them, vindicate the title of this reign, and he may be regarded as at least one of the greatest statesmen that figure in history. Bacon commends him justly enough, to Louis XI. of France and Ferdinand of Spain, designating the three as "the *tres rois* of those ages". The age in which Henry VII. reigned was that of the birth of modern policy, and that in which the foundations were laid of the still enduring system of European states. Nothing that was then done has been greatly shaken since; all the changes that have since taken place have been little more than an extension and development of the arrangements then made and the principles that were called for. This reign therefore may be considered as the beginning of the modern history of England.



THE life of Dean Colet was neither a long nor an eventful one, and an outline of its course may be given in



JOHANN GONNET.



tilt—a spot of ancient eminence, having probably been
 the site of a building of distinction in the Roman time,
 the beautiful tessellated pavement discovered when the
 church was taken down a few years ago would seem to
 test. About the year 1483 he was sent to Oxford, it
 supposed to Magdalen College, and there he spent
 seven years in the study of logic, philosophy, and mathe-
 matics. Meanwhile, having been intended for the eccle-
 astical profession, he had, after the irregular custom
 that then prevailed, been presented by his relation Sir
 Villiam Knevet to the rectory of Denington in Suffolk,
 so early as the year 1485, while he was still under age,
 and before he had taken holy orders; and five years after
 he was presented by his father to another rectory, that
 of Thyrning in Huntingdonshire. The latter prefer-
 ment he appears to have soon after resigned; the former
 he retained to his dying day. It is supposed to have
 been in 1493 that he left England to improve himself by
 travel on the Continent; he visited both France and
 Italy, and did not return home till 1497. In Italy he
 made the acquaintance of Lilly, Linacer, Latimer, and
 others of his countrymen who were then studying Greek
 were under the learned exiles from Constantinople, or
 their pupils and successors; and he also himself acquired
 knowledge of that language, of which little or nothing
 was as yet understood at Oxford. While he was abroad,
 he had been presented to a prebend in the church of
 York, and to another in that of St. Martin's-le-Grand,
 and also to a canonry in the latter church. Yet his
 ordination even as a deacon did not take place till after
 his return. He now retired to Oxford, and he appears
 to have read lectures in divinity there for the next four
 or five years. It was at Oxford that, in the latter part of
 the year 1497, he first met Erasmus, with whom he con-
 tinued in the most intimate friendship from this time till
 his death, and to whose notices of him in his letters and
 other writings we are indebted for the most interesting
 particulars of Colet that have been handed down to us. In
 1502 he obtained a prebend in the church of Salisbury,
 at which he resigned the one he held in that of St. Mar-

tin's-le-Grand ; but he was shortly after instituted another in St. Paul's Cathedral. It appears, too, along with his rectory of Denington he had up to time held the vicarage of Stepney ; for he is stated to have resigned that living on being made dean of St. Paul's, to which eminent dignity he was raised in 1546. He had taken his degree of doctor in divinity the preceding year. He was also, in his capacity of rector of the Guild of Jesus in St. Paul's church ; he was one of the preachers in ordinary to the king Henry VIII.

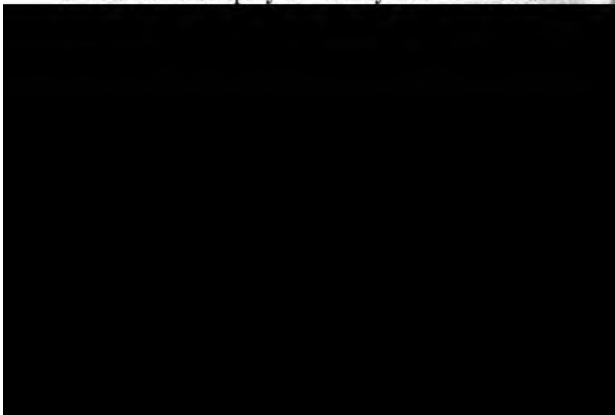
With all these church livings Colet was of course very well off; and, when he came into the inheritance of all his father's property on the death of Sir I. in 1510, he must have been a person of considerable wealth. He appears to have formed the design which has principally immortalized his name, the foundation of a classical school in his native city, some years before his father's death; but it was not fully carried into effect then; and the foundation of St. Paul's school is projected in the year 1510.

Some years after this date, finding his strength declining, though he was still not in advanced life, he became anxious to find some monastery or other place of religious retirement, in which he might close his days in

a drawing representing him in his ecclesiastical, in a manuscript of the two first Gospels which had got to him, and which is now in the public library at Cambridge, he seems to have been eminently hand-

Erasmus also describes him as both comely and The same friend reports, that Colet declared himself to be by natural disposition inclined to indulge the ordinary ways of the world; but he had subdued these tendencies by the most determined self-discipline. "He conquered, and then commanded himself," says his modern biographer, Dr. Knight, abstracting in English the account given by Erasmus, "and let his high spirit to be subject to reason; so he would bear a reproof even from his own servant. His disposition to sleep and luxury he restrained by a usual abstinence from suppers, a strict sobriety, a application to his studies, and by serious and restrained conversation. . . . And yet, whenever opportunities offered themselves, either of jesting with facetious men, or talking familiarly with the female sex, or appearing at feasts and great entertainments, there he would break forth, and you might see some little and tokens of it. For which reason he very much avoided acquaintance with laymen, and especially all such entertainments, where, if necessity brought him, he asked out some learned friend and talked Latin with him to avoid the profane discourse of the table, and in his own time he would eat but of one dish, and take one or two draughts of beer, refraining commonly from wine, which yet he relished with delight if very sparingly drunk it in the most sparing manner. Being so jealous of himself, he would therefore be constantly upon his guard, and cautious to the last degree of letting anybody; and he so behaved himself in all the various circumstances of human life as if he well knew the eyes of all people were fixed upon him. There was a more flowing wit; which, for that reason, he retired in the like society; but even then he chose not to divert to such discourse as savoured most of the temporal and eternal life. And if ever he indulged him-

self in any light and pleasant stories, he would still give some turn of philosophy and serious application to them. He was a great lover of little children, admiring the pretty innocence and simplicity in them; and he would often observe how our Saviour had set them for our example, being wont to compare them to the angels above." The only detriment which he contracted from this constant self-observance and asceticism seems to have been some slight severity of temper; which, however, he also, as well as its opposite vices, generally kept under control. Yet it was a principle with him that boys should occasionally be soundly whipped, even when they had committed no fault, to break their spirits or to humiliate them, as he expressed it. He would sometimes have one of the boys of his school brought to him while he was at dinner, and subjected in his presence to what he considered this salutary discipline. On this point his milder or easier-natured friend Erasmus differed from him, as also upon the matter of going to bed supperless. Erasmus hints, too, that Colet was not without a tincture of avarice; he sometimes did not respond to the applications of the great scholar for pecuniary assistance so liberally or so readily as the latter could have wished, or he would accompany his bounty with unasked advices



as a third of Christendom. Although he held preferments, he at least did what he could to that the duties, whenever there were any, should be performed, either by himself or a deputy. He tells us, that when he was appointed to his office, the deanery of St. Paul's, as if he had led to the labours, not to the dignity, of it, he "restored the decayed discipline of the cathedral church, and brought in what was a new there, preaching himself upon Sundays and on festivals." These sermons, it is added, were attended by a numerous auditory, including others the chief magistrates of the city. It was at Colet's example had a good effect in making some of several other churches introduce the same of preaching. Colet's theological writings, which exist in manuscript, appear to contain the doctrine that can be called peculiarly Romish. A repository of divine truth which he recognised to have been the Bible, the obscurities and difficulties in which he interprets by comparison of one with another, and by the common lights of reason and learning, not by either tradition or the decisions of popes and councils; and his interpretations in many instances were contradictory to those upon which the church of Rome founds its peculiar doctrines. He was also accustomed to inveigh strongly against the luxury, avarice, ignorance, and idleness of the clergy, the open profligacy of many of their number; the general disorder into which the religious houses were fallen in his time—an evil which was already so generally felt that no new monastery or nunnery had been founded in England for many years, and the system of religious institutions was thus pining away from mere decay long before the fatal blow given to it by Henry the Eighth. One or two of the popish doctrines or errors Colet even ventured the length of distinctly opposing and condemning; in particular, the celibacy of the clergy, and, to a certain extent also, auricular confession. For the freedom with which he was

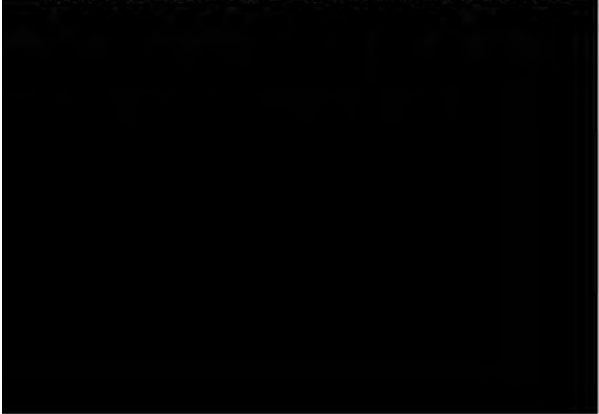
wont to express himself upon these and other points, he was more than once exposed to some annoyance and danger. One of the persons who looked upon him with suspicion and dislike for the general complexion of his opinions, was Fitz James, Bishop of London. "The dean," Erasmus informs us, "had never stood right with the bishop, who was a very rigid Scotist, and the more jealous of the dean because his lectures and sermons were chiefly employed in opening the sense of the Scriptures; which, being in the new way of learning, was called heresy. And, in truth, at that time, any divine that had more learning or piety than the grosser part of his order, or did touch or talk of any thing out of the common road of the church of Rome, was counted a perverse heretic, or at least suspected of the crime of heretical pravity. The bishop upon this score accuses the dean to the archbishop as a dangerous man; and, calling in the assistance of two other bishops of equal bigotry and no less virulency, he began to create him a great deal of trouble and vexation; using no other weapon but that of the charge of heresy, which was then reckoned the most fatal engine for the destruction of their enemies. So the bishop drew up certain articles against the dean. One was, that the said Dr. Colet had



the trouble of putting in any formal answer."* The bishop, nevertheless, was not quieted by this first failure; and, some time after he and his friends were much excited by the hope of being able to represent Colet to the king as a disaffected and dangerous person, on the ground of one of his sermons, in which he had spoken of reconciling the quarrels and differences of Christian states and princes by persuasion; and had exhorted his hearers to conquer those evil passions, out of which, he said, came wars and fightings among men. The sermon was preached before his majesty, who had just declared war against France; and, a little disturbed at the doctrine, Henry, immediately after the service, sent for the preacher. Colet waited on his majesty in the Franciscan monastery adjoining the royal palace at Greenwich; they met in the garden of the monastery, where the king went to walk; and as soon as the dean came up to him his majesty dismissed all his attendants. The rest of the story may be given in the words of Colet's modern biographer:—"The Bishop of London and his party, who hated the dean, and especially friar Bricot, were waiting in the palace, full of hope and expectation that the preacher would fall under the suspicion of treason, and the king's highest displeasure upon it, and would immediately be sent from the court to the Tower. But, on the contrary, as the king and Dean Colet were alone in the garden, his highness commanded him to be covered, and then spoke to him in this friendly manner:—"Master Dean, that you may fear no harm, I sent for you at this time; not to interrupt your holy labours in preaching, which I would rather encourage and promote, but to disburthen my own conscience of some scruples upon it, and by your ghostly advice to direct myself in the present posture of my affairs." The king then told him that he was now engaged in a war against the French king, not at his own desire, but by force and urgent necessity for the defence of his kingdom; and therefore,

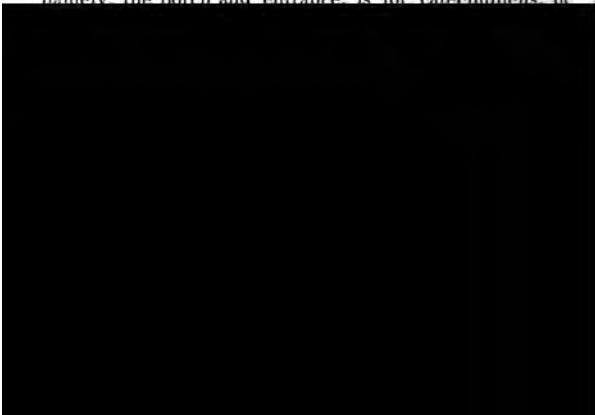
Translated by Dr. Knight, in his *Life of Colet*, 8vo. Lon. 1724; pp. 88-90.

though the doctor, in his truly Christian sermon, had spoken admirably well of Christian love and charity yet, since this was a war, not of choice, but of necessity he must desire him in another sermon to defend the lawfulness of such a war as was defensive, and should be entered upon for the honour and safety of our country. Dean Colet with all dutiful readiness obeyed the king's command; and at the next opportunity, in the same grave and eloquent way, he spoke of the grounds of a lawful war among Christian states and princes with such strength of reason and Scripture, that he not only confirmed the king and his nobles in their intended enterprise, but even raised the spirits of the common people, before cool and indifferent in that matter. At the end of this last sermon the king thanked him publicly before all the people; and said to his nobles, who stood about him:—'Well, let every one choose his own doctor, but this shall be my doctor before all other whatsoever.' And so the king took a glass of wine, and drank to him very graciously, and dismissed him with all the marks of affection; promising him any favour at court he would ask for. After this great honour done him by the king, his enemies, that stood gaping like wolves for a prey, slunk away with shame and vexation: and the dean



act of rhetoric, which Colet seems to have looked only another name for falsehood and misrepresentation, or at least thought to be good only for confusing the truth. Its efficacy in arousing the and the imagination he certainly would not have as any defence of it; for it was an essential creed, that the imagination and the passions all circumstances to be as far as possible sub- kept down, and that the less part they were to have in human affairs the better. Yet this ally ground or apology for the employment of commonly called eloquence in writing or speak- let would have had the reason or judgment to ally faculty of the mind ever called into exercise, part of our nature ever appealed to. And robust and homely tastes he did not relish or of any tendency to subtlety or over-refinement reasoning. The logic of the schools he despised d, denouncing alike both Thomists and Scotists followers of Thomas Aquinas, and their oppo- e followers of Duns Scotus, were denominated) s and abusers of the gift of speech. In this is religious opinions and tendencies took part literary tastes; for the schoolmen were the great s of Romanism, both theological and political; strongest antagonism and hostility also subsisted their old logic and the new learning, directed part to the original language and better inter- of the Christian Scriptures, which preceded ly helped to produce the Reformation. This was doubt the motive of much of Colet's zeal for the ment of Greek scholarship, in which, as we have e sought to accomplish himself after he had the ordinary course of study, and for the public nament teaching of which, as we shall presently was one of the first persons who made provision und. But, although a good, he never himself a great scholar; and his name has only a place istory of learning in connexion with the great *school of which he was the founder.*

There had been in very early times a school connected with the cathedral church of St. Paul's, as there were with most of the other principal churches and monasteries throughout the kingdom. But, like many of the other better parts of the Romish system, this seminary, in Colet's days, appears to have fallen into complete decay, and to have subsisted, if at all, in little more than in name and form. His own institution, which entirely superseded it, was founded by him, as we have already stated, about nine years before his death, and its settlement and superintendence principally occupied the remainder of his life. The best account of how he proceeded is that given by Erasmus, who says, "Upon the death of his father, when by right of inheritance he was possessed of a good sum of money, lest the keeping of it should corrupt his mind, and turn it too much toward the world, he laid out a great part of it in building a new school in the churchyard of St. Paul's, dedicated to the child Jesus, a magnificent fabric, to which he added two dwelling-houses for the two several masters; and to them he allotted ample salaries, that they might teach a certain number of boys free and for the sake of charity. He divided the school into four apartments. The first, namely the porch and entrance, is for catechumens, or



sight of the estate, and government of it, not to the clergy, not to the bishop, not to the chapter, nor to any great minister at court; but amongst the married laymen, to the Company of Mercers, men of probity and reputation. And when he was asked the reason of so committing this trust, he answered to this effect:—that there was no absolute certainty in human affairs; but, for his part, he found less corruption in such a body of citizens than in any other order or degree of mankind.*

But the nature of the original establishment, and also some points in the character of the founder, will be best illustrated by a few extracts from the statutes, as drawn up by Colet himself. They are dated the 18th of June, 1518.

The school is described as founded “in the honour of Christ Jesu in *pueritia*, and of his blessed moder Mary.” The high or head master is directed to be “a man whole in body, honest and virtuous, and learned in good and clean Latin literature, and also in Greek, if such may be gotten, a wedded man, a single man, or a priest that hath no benefice with cure, nor service that may let the due business in the school.” His wages are appointed to be “a mark a week, and a livery gown of four nobles, delivered in cloth.”

The number of children received in the school is directed to be a hundred and fifty-three (in allusion, it is supposed, to the number of fish taken by St. Peter, as recorded by the evangelist John, chapter xxi. verse 11), “of all nations and countries indifferently.” One of the rules with regard to the scholars is, that “in the school, in no time in the year, they shall use tallow candle in no wise, but alonely wax candle, at the costs of their friends.” Colet, though he hated show and luxury, was a great lover of cleanliness: he dressed only in black, while many of the other clergy of his degree arrayed themselves in purple: but he was always remarkable for the neatness of his attire, and also for the good condition and order of his house and everything about him. Other

* *Translated in Life by Knight*, pp. 110-113.

rules which he lays down for the boys are the following : —“ Also I will they bring no meat, nor drink, nor bottle, nor use in the school no breakfasts nor drinkings in the time of learning in no wise ; if they need drink, let them be provided in some other place. I will they use no cock-fighting, nor riding about of victory, nor disputing at St. Bartholomew, which is but foolish babbling and loss of time. I will also that they shall have no remedies [that is, holidays]. If the master granteth any remedies, he shall forfeit 40*s. totiens quotiens* [for every time], except the king, or an archbishop, or a bishop present in his own person in the school desire it. All these children shall every Childermas-day come to Paul’s church and hear the Child Bishop Sermon ; and after be at the High Mass ; and each of them offer a penny to the Child Bishop ; and with them the masters and surveyors of the school.” This festival of the Boy Bishop is remarked as almost the only popish observance attendance upon which the dean enjoined upon those educated at his school.

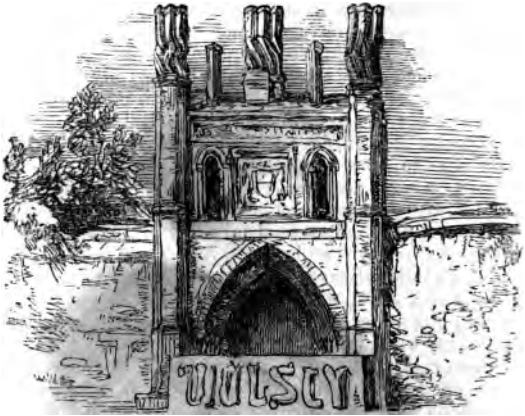
Some instructions are given as to what should be taught and what books should be read in the school. Generally it is explained that the purpose of the seminary is to afford instruction both in Latin and Greek, but



pany of Mercers, to whom he had intrusted the government of the institution, "to add and diminish of this book, and to supply in it every default; and also to declare in it every obscurity and darkness, as time and place and just occasion shall require."

Colet's first head master was William Lilly, the principal author of the Latin grammar which goes under his name. Lilly had visited not only Italy but Rhodes to acquire and perfect himself in the Greek language, which he is said to have been the first person who taught at Oxford, at least after the revival of letters. He was a married man with many children; and he lived and presided over St. Paul's school till the year 1522, when he was carried off by the plague.

Colet's allowance to his head master of a mark (13s. 4d.) a week, with two houses (one attached to the school; the other, as an occasional country retreat, at Stepney), was a liberal provision according to the value of money at that day. The revenues of the school, however, derived from land, have of course since greatly increased: they amounted, as Colet calculated them, to about 120*l.*, and are understood to be now nearly 6000*l.* The estates lie chiefly in Buckinghamshire.



THOMAS WOLSEY was born in the year 1471, in the pleasant and prosperous town of Ipswich in Suffolk.



CARDINAL WOLSEY.



foremost and steadiest that embraced the new strines; for in their foreign intercourse they had made themselves acquainted with the object and the operations of Luther and the earliest German Reformers, and their superior enlightenment rendered them more open to conviction than the population of any other of the island. At the date of the birth of our great and last Pope of the Roman Church Luther was not born; but the mental development and the prosperity of Ipswich were remarkably high. Many of the trading burghers were exceedingly wealthy.

It is quite certain that Thomas Wolsey was the son of a butcher's parents, but it is not quite so certain that his father was a mere butcher. It was a poet, and a most bitter satirist, his contemporary John Skelton, who first designated Wolsey as the "butcher's dog," as a man of "treasonable genealogy," and "that was cast out of a butcher's stall." Lord Herbert of Cherbury says indeed in plain prose that Wolsey was a butcher's son; Shakspeare makes the angry Duke of Buckingham call the proud Cardinal "this butcher's cur," and speak of "this Ipswich fellow's insolence;" but the words proceed from the mouth of an exasperated enemy. The probabilities are that Wolsey's father was a substantial yeoman who may have sold the wool of his flocks to the wool-pickers, and have fattened sheep and cattle for the stalls, without being himself a butcher. It is unquestionable that Robert and Joan Wolsey, his parents, were reputable persons, and possessed of sufficient means to provide a liberal education for their son. It is true that children of poor and obscure parents did occasionally obtain the advantages of such an education; but in these cases the youths were devoted to the cloisters, and received gratuitously the instruction of the monks. Such was not the case of Thomas Wolsey. He received preparatory instruction, at the cost of his father, in Suffolk, and was then sent at the same charge to Magdalen College, Oxford, where he graduated at the age of fifteen, gaining by his early advancement to academical honours the nickname of the "boy-Bachelor." He became fellow of

his college, teacher of a school connected with it; and was ordained. Greek was not as yet taught in either of the universities; but the Cardinal's letters and state papers in Latin show that he had diligently studied the Roman classics; and the high reputation he indisputably enjoyed at Oxford, may be taken as good evidence that he cultivated all such learning as was accessible at that time. It is also to be mentioned to his honour that he afterwards, in the days of his greatness, founded a Greek professorship in the college he built at Oxford, and published a general address to the schoolmasters of England, ordering them to institute their youth in the most elegant literature.*

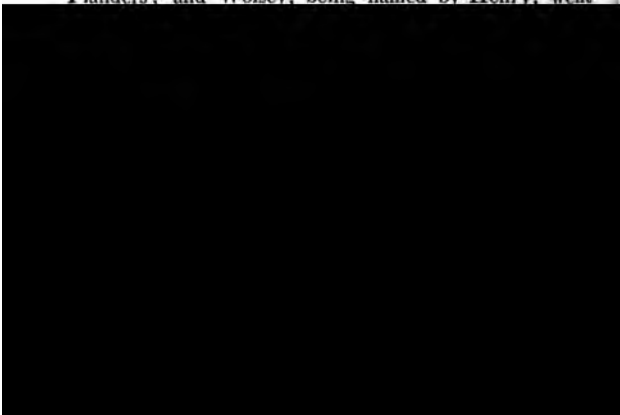
While master of the school attached to Magdalen College, Wolsey had for his pupils three sons of Thomas Grey, Marquess of Dorset, and to his acquaintance with this noble and powerful family the future Lord Cardinal owed his first humble preferment in the church, being presented by the marquess to the living of Lymington in Somersetshire. At this time Wolsey was twenty-nine years old. He was not distinguished at any period of his life by temperance and sobriety, and a command of his passions; and in the hot season of youth he is said to have been publicly guilty of various indiscretions. Thus



next, I knew not: this I know, that Wolsey afterwards made Cardinal, and Lord Chancellor of England, so grievously punished this injury, that Sir John was fain to dance attendance at London some days by all manner of obsequiousness to curry favour. There remains to this day a sufficient testimony in a building over the gate of the Middle Temple in London, built by the knight at the time of his banishment there, and decked round about very sumptuously with the Cardinal's arms, the knight hoping somewhat to allay the wrath of the incensed Cardinal.

But Wolsey had qualities which could not be overcome, and a spirit that would not be depressed by temporary disgrace. It is thought that his mind was not beyond his poor rural benefices. He could not stay long at Lymington. Among other shire gentlemen, to whom he recommended himself by his wit and vivacity and captivating address, was John Nafant, Treasurer of Calais, then an English town and a great emporium of our trade. It appears that this knight engaged him as his chaplain: but being incapacitated by age and sickness, and finding himself admirably qualified for business, he soon assumed his deputy in the office of Calais Treasurer, and afterwards conceived such a liking for him that he presented him to King Henry VII. and obtained for him the nomination of king's chaplain. This crafty king, very sagacious in judging of the abilities and character of men, and who is said never to have employed or promoted a dull man, was charmed with the character of his new almoner. According to Bishop Fox, Wolsey's introduction to the king was brought about indirectly by Sir John Nafant making him known to Henry the Seventh's favourite minister, who was at that time Bishop of Winchester and Privy Seal, and, like his master, "a man that knew how to judge of good wits." "And he (Fox) found the young man to be very sprightly, of learning sufficient, and very active in despatch of affairs, so highly commended him to King Henry the Seventh, who

relied much upon Fox's faith and wisdom, that he thought it good forthwith to employ him in affairs of great moment. What need many words? He so far pleased the king that in short time he became a great man." In these times the clergy were not barred from any state employment, and Henry the Seventh, making more account of their literature than of the pedigree and warlike qualities of the lay aristocracy, generally employed them in the various offices of government, and rarely if ever used any other ambassadors. Wolsey owed his next great rise to his skill as a negotiator and his rapidity as a traveller. The subject of Wolsey's first embassy, or as Bacon calls it, "this his first piece," was matrimonial: the grand cause of his final downfall was a divorce. Henry VII., in his old age, had determined to take to himself another wife, and was looking through all Europe for a rich and fair one. After sundry disappointments he obtained a promise of the hand of Lady Margaret, duchess dowager of Savoy, only daughter to the Emperor Maximilian, and sister to Philip, King of Castile, "a lady wise and of great good fame." In furtherance of this match it was found necessary to send a trusty, quick-witted, and quick-moving envoy into Flanders; and Wolsey, being named by Henry, went



the gay young heir to the throne. He had also another advantage over the grey-headed ministers of Henry VII., for he was in the prime of life, and could pursue pleasure and amusement with as much heart and skill as state business. "The young prince," says Bishop Godwin, "coming to the crown, was wholly taken with his smooth tongue and pliable behaviour." Wolsey's first promotion under Henry VIII. is, however, attributed by Lord Herbert of Cherbury and others, to the political jealousies of the time. Fox, Bishop of Winchester, lord privy seal and principal secretary of state, is said to have been jealous of the influence of the Earl of Surrey, the Lord Treasurer, and to have introduced Wolsey into the council with the view of strengthening his party, hoping to benefit by his "quick and stirring wit," without being disquieted by his ambition. And as Bishop Fox appears to have been one of Wolsey's earliest patrons at court, he may have committed the mistake of counting on his submission and entire dependence, or of considering that his want of high birth would prevent his reaching the high offices of state. "Wolsey," says Lord Herbert, "was already a chaplain in the household and almoner, and from thence raised to the place of a counsellor. Being in this nearness, he knew as well how to discourse with the young king, in matter of learning, (the king being much addicted to the reading of Thomas Aquinas,) as to comply with him in his delights; insomuch, as (saith Polydore) he would sing, dance, laugh, jest, and play with those youths in whose attendance and company the king much delighted; briefly (to use Polydore's words), he made his private house *voluptatum omnium sacrarium, quo regem frequenter ducebat*, a receptacle for pleasures of all kinds, where he frequently entertained the king. He omitted not yet, in the midst of all these follies, to speak seriously, so representing all businesses to the king, as he got much credit with him, and this, again, was confirmed by those gallants, who contributed no little thereunto, whereupon he began to tell the king, that he should sometimes follow his studies in school divinity, and sometimes take his pleasure, and leave the

care of public affairs to him : promising that what was amiss in his kingdom should be rectified. Likewise, he omitted not to infuse fears and jealousies of all those whom he conceived the king might affect. Whereby he became so perfect a courtier that he had soon attained to the height of favour. For as princes have arts to govern kingdoms, courtiers have those by which they govern their princes, when through any indisposition they grow unapt for affairs." Tradition is too unvarying and there is too much substantial evidence of the facts to allow us to doubt that Wolsey encouraged Henry's natural turn to dissipation, took an active part in his expensive and loose pleasures, and turned to his own advantage all his art as a most accomplished courtier and all his influence as a favourite : but it may still be doubted whether there was any man about the court or government of Henry VIII. that would have made a better or a more disinterested minister. He could turn from pleasure to business with a happy facility, and in the midst of the amusements of the court he devoted much time to public affairs ; his naturally joyous and confident disposition made him averse from acts of cruelty and oppression, and when the extravagance and the capricious and absurd wars of his master drove him



tionate finance managers of Henry VII., had to the crown upon his attainder and execution. Next year, 1510, Wolsey became Rector of Tortin in 1511, Canon of Windsor and Registrar of the Garter; in 1512, Prebendary of York; Dean of York and Bishop of Tournay in 1514, Bishop of Lincoln, and in the same year Bishop of York. By this time he had not only the power and ambition of my Lord Treasurer, of Surrey, but had also completely eclipsed his colleague the Lord Privy Seal and Secretary Fox, bishop of Exeter. Fox, who had never shown any lack of energy or indifference to wealth, and whose own rise to power had been very rapid under Henry VII., had a great capacity for business, and had acquired considerable fame as a deviser and manager of pageants, and court-entertainments; but in the management of business his greatest speed was slowness compared with the pace of Wolsey; and his other accomplishments appear to have been tame and niggardly when contrasted with the magnificent devices of the son of a Lancashire burgher, who was a refiner of the sensual, and whose talent in pageantries and festivities had been said to have amounted to genius. Bishop Fox had grown old and parsimonious, and had the habit of complaining of the vast expenditure of the king, gay, and most ostentatious king. Finding himself disregarded at court, and completely overshadowed by the plebeian churchman he had lately introduced and brought into the council to serve him, Fox in 1515 retired in disgust to his diocese, and spent the rest of his life in discharge of the duties of his episcopal office, and in works of munificence and piety. The same year, 1515, which witnessed the retirement of Fox, saw Wolsey elevated to the rank of a duke, and to the office of Chancellor of England. Cardinal's hat was given to him by Pope Leo the Tenth, whose character and tastes in many respects resembled his own), in order to gratify the powerful king of England, and to keep him steady to the league

against the French king, who, among other schemes, was contemplating the reduction of a part of Italy; for the great seal Wolsey was intrusted to the resignation and retirement of William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor, like Bishop Fox, had found his authority reduced to nothing.* In the very next year after these high motions, in consequence of services rendered, or in hope of securing other services and an active co-operation on the part of King Henry in the continental war, Leo X. made Wolsey his legate *à latere* in England, a commission which gave him great wealth and almost unlimited power over the English clergy. He was likewise allowed to farm, for the foreign bishops who held them, the revenues of the dioceses of Exeter and Worcester, the latter of which two sees had been given to Julius de' Medici, cousin to Leo X., and afterwards Pope Clement VII. It appears that Wolsey paid these foreign churchmen fixed stipends far less than the annual proceeds which he drew from the dioceses. He had also in commendam the rich abbey of St. Albans. All these enormous revenues were further increased by stipends received from the Kings of France and Spain, and from the Doge of Venice, and by occasional gifts made to him by other princes. All the power



ident that a good part of this money either went rectly into the king's privy purse or was spent by the ord Cardinal in splendid entertainments for him. By e year 1517 Wolsey had the whole power in the ate, both civil and ecclesiastical, and an income of iormous amount. Pope Leo himself scarcely lived ith more splendour and magnificence. Wolsey's taste as rather for spending than accumulating. He became ost gorgeous in his dress, retinue, housekeeping, and all her things; his portly figure was set off with silks and tins of the finest texture, and richest scarlet and crim-n dye. Polydore Virgil says that he was the first mong all priests, bishops, and cardinals that ever wore lks for his uppermost vestment. His neck and shoul-rs were covered with a tippet of costly sables; his oves were of red silk; his hat of a cardinal was scarlet; is shoes were silver gilt, inlaid with pearls and dia-onds. The eye of imagination is almost dazzled by is warm and glowing picture, which was drawn by one ' Wolsey's own servants.* He maintained a train of ie hundred persons, among whom were nine or ten rds, the beggared descendants of proud barons who had st their lives or fortunes, or both, in the long War of ie Roses, which had so broken the power of the ancient istocracy, and which had laid the way for the des-otism of the House of Tudor. Besides these lords e had fifteen knights and forty squires in his service. ll his domestics were splendidly attired: his very cook ore a silk or velvet jerkin, and a chain of gold round is neck. Whenever he appeared in public, his cardi-al's hat was borne before him by a person of rank; two riests, the tallest and best-looking that could be found, mmediately preceded him, carrying two ponderous lver crosses, one to denote his dignity as Cardinal, the ther as Archbishop of York; two gentlemen, each earing a silver staff, walked before the two priests; and i front of all went his pursuivant-at-arms, carrying on is shoulder a huge mace of silver gilt. Most of his

* Cavendish.

followers were mounted upon spirited horses, perfect in training, and splendidly caparisoned ; but he himself, as a priest, rode a mule, with saddle and saddle-cloth of crimson velvet, and stirrups of silver gilt. At his levee, which he held every morning at an early hour, after a very short mass, he always appeared clad all in red. The king, who loved show and parade beyond all precedent, seems really to have prided himself in the splendour of his favourite ; and it is thought that jealousy was avoided by his considering all this pomp and glory as a mere reflection of his own : he had raised him from poverty to this enormous wealth, and he may have reflected, that by his arbitrary and unopposed will he could at any moment cast him down and seize whatever he had. Even the nation was less jealous of the low-born minister than might have been expected ; for Wolsey's wealth was like an overflowing river that reached far and near ; he was a liberal and punctual paymaster ; he fed thousands of artists and artisans ; he constantly gave alms to the poor, and very frequently largesses to the people. At the same time he encouraged men of learning and letters, exerted himself most strenuously for the revival of Greek and pure classical literature, and endowed schools and colleges, without



the remoter parts of the kingdom; and he put down thieves and robbers by improving the police, or by encouraging the sheriffs and local magistrates. He allowed none to maltreat or oppress the poor, he erected a court of requests where the complaints and claims of the needy were to be heard; and he introduced other things in the civil government of the kingdom that were very acceptable to the people, and that were continued and improved after his time. "Herein," says Bishop Godwin, "he alike manifested his wisdom and love of his country. Certainly they that lived in that age would not stick to say, that this kingdom never flourished more than when Wolsey did, to whose wisdom they attributed the wealth and safety that they enjoyed, and the due administration of justice to all without exception."

His foreign policy was bad, and even base; but much of this is to be laid to the account of the capricious, violent, and jealous character of the master he served. England occupied a position which might have enabled her to be the arbitress of Europe, and which might have given such weight to a wise and liberal policy as would have checked the long wars waged between the French kings and the emperors Maximilian and Charles V. But Henry was avid for military glory, and, without any genius for war, conceited himself into the hope and belief that he was to be a greater soldier and conqueror in France than Henry V.; and, to say the truth, the English people were at first disposed to be of this opinion, and therefore to encourage his warlike propensities. In the fourth year of his reign he rushed into the war as a principal by invading France. The Emperor Maximilian and his other allies could not, or would not, do that which he had expected; and so, breaking off from them all, he suddenly, in the summer of 1514, concluded a treaty of family and political alliance with Louis XII. of France. Louis XII. died shortly after, but his brilliant and more warlike successor Francis I. flattered the vanity of Henry, who confirmed the league which had so recently been made, and by so doing encouraged Francis to *cross the Alps*. Then, in a very short time, the glory

which the young French king was acquiring in Italy excited the jealousy of Henry, and an outcry was raised in the English court against French ambition and encroachment. If Henry had not already spent all the treasures which his father had left him, he would instantly have declared war against Francis. To tempt him to this step the poor and faithless Maximilian hinted that he was weary of the weight of the imperial crown, and might be easily persuaded to resign it to the English king, for some present assistance, or for a proper consideration in money. Henry's egregious vanity took the bait; and the Earl of Worcester and Doctor Cuthbert Tunstall, afterwards Bishop of Durham, were sent to the emperor's court to negotiate for this cession of the imperial crown. Schemes were laid at home for the raising of money and the equipment of great armies. But Tunstall, one of the most accomplished scholars in Europe, and an excellent statesman and man of business, presently discovered the specious cheat which Maximilian was attempting to practise, and boldly and bluntly told his master that the constitutions of the Germanic empire and other circumstances rendered it utterly impossible that he could ever be emperor even by name. "But the crown of England," said this patriotic priest,



pretty clear that his master's disappointment and irritation led to this sudden change of policy, and were too violent to be resisted. At the beginning of the following year, 1519, when Maximilian died unexpectedly, and when Francis proposed himself as a candidate for the vacant dignity, Henry promised the French king his countenance and support. Yet, after doing this, he sent the learned Richard Pace to the German electors, to announce himself as a candidate. Then, as the Archduke Charles began the canvass, and showed that his better qualifications, his wise policy, and his immense resources must secure him the election, Henry, from that common desire men feel for being on the winning side, or from some new offence taken to Francis, or in a miserable attempt at manœuvre, wrote to assure Charles of his earnest wishes for his success; and at this very time Sir Thomas Boleyn, one of Henry's ambassadors at the diet, was repeating to Francis the most solemn assurances that Henry would support him. Charles the Fifth was elected on the 28th of June, 1519. The eagerness with which both he and his disappointed rival Francis attempted to secure the friendship of the King of England, was a tribute paid to the power and importance of the nation; but Henry was incapable of benefiting either himself or his people, or the cause of peace and humanity in Europe, by the advantages afforded him by his enviable position. The correspondence preserved in the State Paper Office, and published a few years since, shows that the imperious and constantly changing will and the gusty passions of the king directed, far more than Wolsey's schemes and projects, the foreign policy or no policy of these times. If the Cardinal had been allowed to take the lead in foreign as in home affairs, although the policy might not have been much more elevated, it would certainly have been somewhat more regular and consistent. Just before the imperial election, Henry had proposed to Francis a personal interview, to take place between the English town of Calais and the French king's town of Boulogne. Francis now requested Henry to keep *this engagement*, and the meeting was fixed for

the summer of 1520. The Emperor Charles was greatly alarmed hercat, and his ambassadors in England did all they could to keep the king at home. But Henry, who longed to display his magnificence, was firm to his purpose. As he was collecting his finery for embarkation at Dover, he received news that the emperor was in the Channel. According to the commonly received account, Henry was taken by surprise, but not so his minister ; for Wolsey had been secretly corresponding with the emperor, and had concerted this opportune visit, and Charles had granted his " most dear friend " a pension of 7000 ducats, secured upon two Spanish bishoprics. The emperor anchored at Hithe near Dover on the 26th of May, and was there received by my Lord Cardinal in great state. Henry met him at Dover and conducted him to Canterbury, where the two sovereigns laid their offerings on the tomb of Thomas à Becket. Charles spent three days in England, and during that time he is said to have had many conferences with Wolsey, and to have encouraged the Cardinal to aspire to the tiara or triple crown of Rome, promising him his support if Leo X. should die. He treated Wolsey with great reverence, and affected to submit to his superior judgment in state affairs ; he also gave him many magnificent presents—" a great part of



In the long and costly pageantries exhibited in the Field of the Cloth of Gold, none could vie in magnificence with Wolsey, although it was said of some of the French nobles that they carried their entire estates on their backs. According to an old writer, who had a surpassing love for all shows and gaudy dresses and dazzling pageantries, and who was thereby qualified to be the proper historian of such a reign, the Frenchmen were so struck with Wolsey's splendour and magnificence that they afterwards "*made books, showing the triumphant doings of the Cardinal's royalty; as, of the number of his gentlemen, knights, and lords, all in crimson velvet, with marvellous number of chains of gold; the multitude of horses, mules, coursers and carriages that went before him with sumpters and coffers; his great silver crosses and pillars, and his embroidered cushions; the great and honourable number of bishops giving their attendance on him, and the mighty and great number of servants, as yeoman and grooms, all clad in scarlet.*"* Before the ten days of tilting, tourneying, fighting at the barriers, and feasting and dancing began, Wolsey spent two whole days in arranging an additional treaty with the French sovereign. Francis, whose head and heart were full of his Italian conquests, readily agreed to pay a high price for the neutrality of the King of England in the war with the Emperor Charles, which he saw was inevitable: he renewed the recent marriage treaty, and, in addition to the money therein promised, he bound himself and his successors to pay to Henry and his successors the yearly sum of one hundred thousand crowns, in the event of the marriage between their children being solemnized, and the issue of that marriage seated on the English throne. Many extravagant professions of friendship were made on either side; and by the royal word of Henry, as well as by the treaty, Francis was led to believe that he should have nothing to fear from England in his contest with the Emperor Charles for the dominion of Italy. Yet the first thing Henry did on

quitting the Field of the Cloth of Gold, was to go to Gravelines and pay a visit to the more sober-minded and politic emperor. Charles accompanied him back to Calais, to pay, as was given out, his respects to his dear aunt Catherine, Queen of England; but, in reality, to concert measures with those who had so recently pledged themselves to his rival's interests. The emperor flattered the vanity of his dear uncle Henry by attempting to appoint him umpire for the settling of all differences between him and the French King; and he again assured Wolsey that he would aid him in the next vacancy at Rome. Splendid entertainments were given at Calais; and when, after three days, Charles took his leave, he was "mounted on a brave horse covered with a cloth of gold richly beset with stones which the king had given him." "He would often," adds Bishop Godwin, "speak of his aunt's happiness, that was matched to so magnificent a prince." Henry and his court soon returned to London, "all safe in body, but empty in purse." The most lasting effect produced by the Field of the Cloth of Gold was the ruin of many of the nobility, who, in their desire to please the gorgeous king and outshine the French, had contracted enormous debts. Even under that despotism there were some men who expressed their



crime than that of his royal birth. Before leaving England for the Field of the Cloth of Gold, he had been alarmed at a report that the Duke of Buckingham was augmenting the number of his armed retainers: he had called into the Star Chamber one Sir William Bulmer for having deserted the royal household to take service in that of Buckingham, and although he had pardoned that knight, he had in so doing made use of ambiguous expressions against the duke. The ill-will and fears and angry passions of the king are quite enough to account for the cruel fate of this great nobleman, without charging the capital guilt upon Wolsey, whose revenge had certainly not been of a fierce or sanguinary kind. It is clear, however, that there was no friendship between the unfortunate duke and the Cardinal, and there is good ground for believing that if Wolsey did not urge on the duke's ruin, he did little to prevent it. Lord Herbert says that on one occasion the choleric Duke of Buckingham had drawn his dagger against the Lord Cardinal. Bishop Godwin says that Buckingham could by no means bear with the intolerable pride of the Cardinal. "There goes a tale," adds the bishop, "that the duke once holding the basin to the king, the Cardinal, when the king had done, presently dipped his hands in the same water: the duke, disdaining to debase himself to the service of a priest, shed the water in his shoes. The Cardinal, therewith incensed, threatened him that he would sit upon his skirts." All the historians of the following century, and the traditions to which the greatest of our poets always adhered, bear Shakspere out in representing the high-born duke as a scoffer at the pride and pomp of the plebeian Cardinal, and in assigning Wolsey's revenge as an immediate cause of his arrest: yet still we cannot but think that there was a stronger cause in the king's own heart. The duke, who was living quietly on one of his estates in Gloucestershire, was basely inveigled up to town by an invitation from the king. His suspicions were first awakened at Windsor, by seeing that he was closely watched and followed by three knights of the king's *body-guard* and some servants-at-arms. Making

no vain or desperate effort to escape, he continued his journey to Westminster, where he took his barge, in order to go by water to Greenwich, where the court then was. On his way he stopped at my Lord Cardinal's quay, or the jetty at York House; but the Cardinal made his servants say that he was indisposed; and he would not see the uneasy face of the doomed nobleman. Between Wolsey's residence and London Bridge the duke's barge was boarded by the captain of the body-guard and a company of his men; and Buckingham was attached as a traitor and conveyed to the Tower, to the great regret and astonishment of the people. Seventeen slavish peers, chosen by the king, and the Duke of Norfolk as high steward, constituted the tribunal which sent Buckingham to the block as a convicted and attainted traitor. It was while the blood of Buckingham was fresh upon him that King Henry took the field as champion of the holy Roman mother church. Three days after the duke's execution he wrote, with his own hand, a terrible letter to Lewis of Bavaria, denouncing the Reformation as "a fire which hath been kindled by Luther, and fanned by the arts of the devil." The royal polemic was the more incensed against the German reformer, because Luther had spoken disrespectfully of St. Thomas Aquinas, his



upon the emperor's promise to promote the grand scheme of his ambition at Rome, led him to take part with Charles, who moreover was by far the most successful of the two great belligerents. Dismissing the ambassadors of Francis, he repaired to the city of Bruges, where the Emperor Charles received him with wonderful respect. The Cardinal's pomp and magnificence excited universal amazement. It was reported that gentlemen of the first rank served him on their knees. "He spent a huge mass of money in that ambassage, not against his will; for he by all means sought the emperor's favour, hoping that Leo X., although much younger than he, either cut off by treachery or his own intemperance, might leave the world before him."* On the 19th of August, 1521, this impartial arbitrator wrote from Bruges to his master Henry, that the emperor earnestly required his grace forthwith to declare war against France, and that he, Wolsey, had finally convinced the emperor that it would be better to defer for a time this declaration of hostilities. These last expressions were very grateful to Henry, who wished to keep his treaty with the emperor secret, in order to continue to draw his pension from Francis till the last moment. He therefore praised Wolsey for his "high wisdom." Returning to Calais, the Cardinal declared to the re-assembled French diplomatists, that their master Francis had been the aggressor in the war, and that the King of England was bound by treaty to assist his ally the emperor. In the month of October the mask was dropped, and a league was signed at Calais between the pope, the emperor, and the English king. On the first of December following, Leo X. died suddenly at Rome. Adrian, Cardinal of Tortosa, a Fleming by birth, who had been tutor to the emperor, was elected by a conclave, in which not so much as the name of Wolsey appears to have been mentioned. For this time the disappointment and resentment of the great English Cardinal were moderated by the reflection that Adrian was a very infirm old

* Bishop Godwin.

man. In a few months—in May, 1522—the emperor came on a visit to King Henry, and spent more than a month in England, during which it was agreed that Henry should invade the north of France with forty thousand men, and that Charles should invade the southern provinces of that kingdom with an equal force. The two contracting powers were to divide between them the conquered provinces, but Henry was promised the larger share. This unprincipled war brought heavy taxes and no glory to the English nation, and Henry grew weary of it before it had lasted six months. In the month of September, 1523, Pope Adrian died, after a pontificate of only twenty months and six days. This time Wolsey was not only named, but he also obtained some considerable number of votes in the conclave. Yet in the end Giulio de' Medici, the cousin of Leo X., got the tiara. Again to all appearance Wolsey bore his disappointment with an unruffled mind, though this time he could scarcely flatter himself with another chance, for the successful candidate was young and vigorous. The new pope, however, forthwith appointed him legate for life, enlarging his authority and giving him permission to suppress certain religious houses in England. Early in the year 1525 the French king was thoroughly defeated

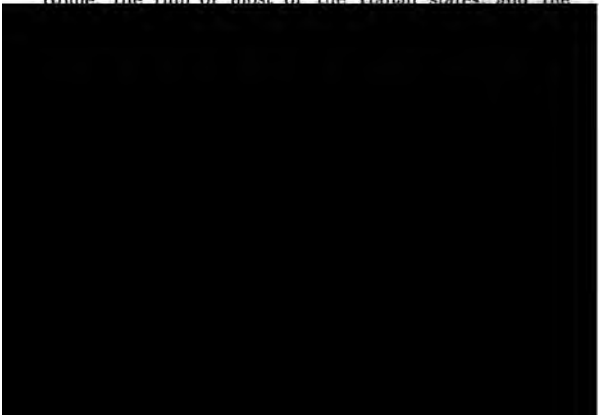


y of benevolence, and by other illegal and equally
 ury means. Parliament, which had become almost
 ity, was not consulted ; but the judges of England
 ot blush to affirm that the king might tax his
 e in any way which seemed to him best. Daring
 reat as had been the growing of the Tudor despo-
 the people would not so read the law ; in Wolsey's
 e county of Suffolk four thousand men flew to arms ;
 en of Kent drove away all the fiscal agents of the
 and the people of other counties prepared to follow
 examples. The court was dismayed, and by a fresh
 umation the illegal demands were annulled. It was
 ted, and certainly believed by many, that Wolsey
 een all along opposed to this irregular taxation,
 hat it was at his advice and prayer the king had
 led his first proclamation. "But the people took
 is for a mock, and said, God save the king—for the
 inal he is known well enough."* And from this
 it should appear that the decline of the Cardinal's
 larity was very rapid. Moreover in the course of
 ear some misunderstandings arose between the king
 him : Wolsey wished to annex the revenues of the
 monasteries he had suppressed with the pope's
 ce to the new college he intended to found at Ox-
 ; Henry wished to keep those revenues for himself.
 e exaggerated accounts of these differences reached
 in Luther, who sat down and wrote a long letter for
 ry, calling Wolsey "the monster, the nuisance to
 and man," "the pest of the kingdom, and caterpillar
 ngland." The reformer said that he understood his
 e had now begun to loathe that wicked sort of men,
 n his mind to favour the true doctrine. But before
 letter reached England the quarrel between king
 ardinal was made up ; and Henry told the reformer
 Wolsey was the best, the most faithful, the most
 ious of men, and that he, Luther, was a monster of
 ety.

s the Emperor Charles would not enter into Henry's

* *Hall's Chronicles.*

wild scheme, Henry resolved to contract forthwith an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the French regency. The negotiations were driven on with amazing speed, and the treaty was concluded in the month of August, 1525. France engaged to pay a high price for it: King Henry was to get for himself two millions of crowns, and an annual pension of a hundred thousand; Wolsey got thirty thousand crowns in compensation for the bishopric of Tournay, and a hundred thousand more were promised him. The emperor, after making his own hard terms with the French king, released him from his captivity, in January, 1526. Henry took the unnecessary pains to urge Francis to break the treaty which had been extorted from him in his prison at Madrid, and pledged himself to support the French in the war which must follow, and never to make peace with Charles without the consent of his dear ally. The pope readily absolved Francis from the oaths he had taken at Madrid, and entered into the league with the Kings of France and England, bringing with him the Duke of Milan, the Florentines, the Venetians, and some minor Italian states. The league, for which Henry did next to nothing, led to the sacking of Rome, the ruin of most of the Italian states, and the

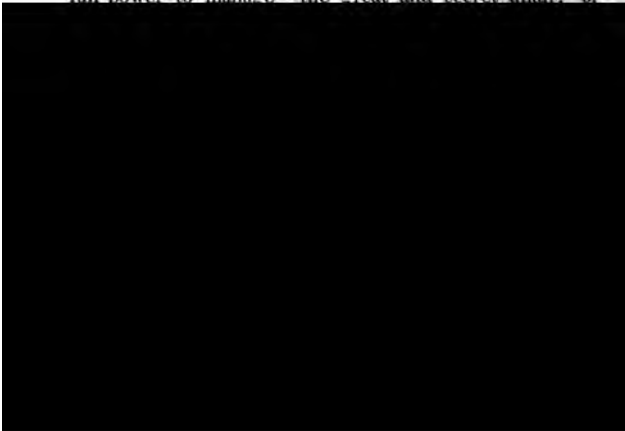


The king, who was already engaged in those amorous matters which were soon to change him into the bitterest enemy of Rome, and to cause Wolsey's ruin, responded rather coolly to the Cardinal's letter. He could do nothing, he said, by means of arms in Italy; and it was but a mockery to tell Wolsey that if money could help the pope he might take it—for his treasury was empty. In July, however, Wolsey was allowed to proceed on another embassy to France; and it is said that he even took three hundred thousand crowns with him to assist the French king in making some immediate effort on behalf of the pope.* This was the last of the Cardinal's grand displays. Perhaps he had never before exhibited so much pomp. On setting forth from London he was accompanied by nine hundred lords and gentlemen, among whom were the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of London, the Earl of Derby, the Lords Sandys and Mountague, and many knights of high name, all splendidly dressed and mounted: the cardinal's servants and retainers swelled the number of the party to two thousand; and there was a long line of carts, carriages, and sumpter mules guarded by bowmen and spearmen. The French Cardinal of Lorraine met him at his landing in the name of the king and clergy of France. The Cardinal was received in France as if he had been a king. By the French king's orders he was permitted in all such places as he passed through on his journey, "to release, pardon, and put at liberty all such transgressors as be detained in prison, of whatsoever quality their offence." On the 4th of August, Francis himself welcomed the Cardinal, having advanced a mile and a half from the city of Amiens to meet him on the road. The gallant king met him with his bonnet in his hand, and then embraced him "with most hearty kind loving countenance and manner."† Four separate treaties with Francis were soon concluded: the first confirmed the recent engagement of perpetual alliance between England and France;

* Guicciardini.

† *Letters from Wolsey to the king, in State Papers, published by order of government.*

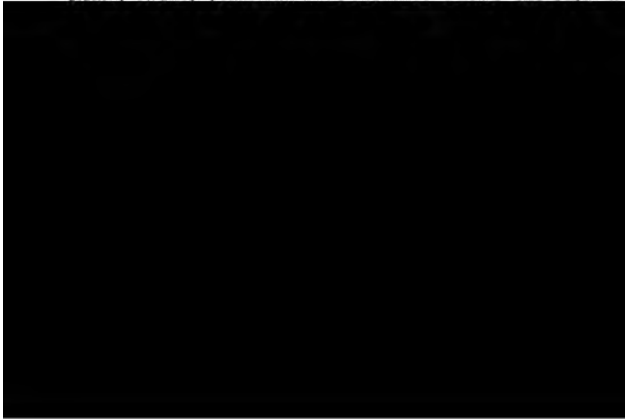
the second related to intermarriage; the third fixed the subsidies to be furnished by England for the war in Italy, which was to be conducted by Francis in aid of the pope, and for the acquisition to himself of Lombardy and Naples; and the last of the four stipulated that, until the pope should be liberated and enabled to resume the government of the church, whatsoever should be determined in France by the clergy of the Gallican church, and in England by the Cardinal-legate Wolsey and the principal members of the English church, convoked on the king's authority, should be held good and valid, even as if the pope had decreed and spoken it. The great Italian historian of the period says that Wolsey aspired to be a pro-pope or universal vicar in France, England, and Germany during the pontiff's imprisonment, and that the king of France made a pretence of gratifying him in this ambitious wish;* but the charge, though often repeated, does not appear to be supported by fact. It has been more plausibly supposed that the object of the last treaty, or that part of it which went to place the whole authority of the Anglican church in the hands of the king and Wolsey, and to make that authority decisive in all matters, was to invest the Cardinal or the king with full power to manage "the great and secret affair." or



as a courtier and man of the world, and his fixed principles as a cardinal and churchman. The sacred college contained many cardinals as fond of worldly pomp and pleasure as he, and more profligate, self-seeking, ambitious than he had ever been, yet when the system was in danger these very cardinals braved torture and death for the cause of the pope.

Shortly after Wolsey's return to England the French king despatched an embassy to our court still further to confirm the league, and to invest Henry with the order of St. Michael. The Cardinal had just finished his palace at Hampton, and there he entertained for four or five days the noble Montmorency and his numerous suite. Among the latter was du Bellay the historian, who has left upon record an account of the magnificence of the palace. "The chambers," he says, "had hangings of wonderful value, and every place did glitter with innumerable vessels of gold and silver: there were two hundred and four-score beds, the furniture to most of them being silk, and all for the entertainment of strangers only." But during Wolsey's recent absence in France, the king had taken counsel of other men; and perhaps it is a proof of Wolsey's uneasiness and declining favour, that he now gave this splendid palace, with all its furniture, to the king. Henry took the gorgeous bribe; but he could no longer take to his heart any man that did not give up his whole soul and conscience to his plan of espousing Anne Boleyn. It is said that Wolsey was not opposed to the divorce from Queen Catherine, but that he intended his master should marry the sister of the French king. All this, however, is at the very least doubtful, for Queen Catherine had always been the friend of the Cardinal, and from the time when the divorce was first mooted Wolsey appears to have been a disquieted and unhappy man. He had not courage enough openly to disobey his tyrannical master, but he evidently entered upon the business with a misgiving mind and a heavy heart. As Pope Clement escaped from Rome disguised as a gardener, and assembled a court within the strong walls of Orvieto, Wolsey could no longer settle the

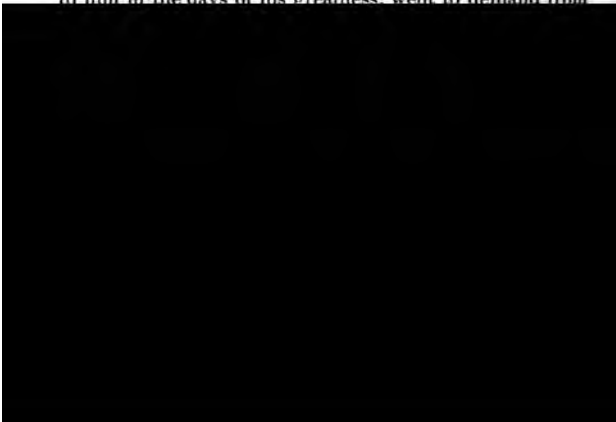
matter as legate and pope's vicar in England. Clement sent Cardinal Campeggio to act with Wolsey in this delicate commission. When the English Cardinal ventured to explain some doubts and difficulties which he had encountered among the English canonists, all his past services were forgotten in the king's one absorbing passion, and Henry answered him "with terrible terms." The English Cardinal took his seat in the great hall of the Blackfriars with his Italian brother, and summoned Queen Catherine before them; but his heart was not in the business, Campeggio would not proceed in the matter, and, by Pope Clement's authority, adjourned the court. It was clear that the court of Rome would not grant the divorce; and this sealed the doom of the already falling Wolsey. Anne Boleyn, who had vowed an eternal friendship to him only the year before in consequence of some concessions and compliances, had now bent heart and soul on his destruction. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and brother-in-law to the king, whom Wolsey had stung to the quick at the trial in the hall of the Blackfriars, the great Duke of Norfolk, and others of the old nobility, the Lord Rochford, Anne Boleyn's father, and many more great lords and knights, who for nearly twenty years had bent the knee before the royal



which.* Soon after the rising of the court in the Black-fires, the amorous king set out on a progress: Anne Boleyn was with him, and Wolsey was not. The Cardinal, however, soon rode after the king, and joined the royal household at Grafton in Northamptonshire. Freezing was the reception he met with; all the great lords and courtiers shunned him as if he brought the plague or sweating sickness with him; and he was told that no apartment had been prepared for him. Only Sir Henry Norris entreated him to make use of his room, for changing his riding dress into more courtly apparel. Yet to the astonishment and dismay of the betting courtiers the king received the Cardinal with an appearance of his old familiarity and affection, discoursing with him for some time in the deep embrasure of a window, and dismissing him very courteously. That same day Henry dined with Anne Boleyn in her chamber, and before he rose from table or came out of that chamber he gave the fascinating Anne a promise that he would never more admit the Cardinal to an interview or hear the tongue of Wolsey again. On the morrow, when at an early hour the Cardinal presented himself, he found that the king was mounting and riding away without noticing him: he was ordered back to London, and he never more saw his master's face. At the commencement of Michaelmas term, 1529, when Wolsey went as Chancellor to the Court of Chancery, the law officers treated him as disrespectfully as the courtiers had done; and on that same day two informations were filed against him in the Court of King's Bench, charging him with having, as legate, transgressed the statute of premunire. His long life as a courtier had deprived him of the spirit of a man. Without an effort he submitted himself to the scourge, and ordering his counsel to admit his guilt, where he was innocent, he abjectly threw himself upon the king's mercy, saying he knew not how he had offended. Some allowance is, however, to be made for this weakness or mean-

* Letters written at the moment, from the English court, by the French ambassador, the Bishop of Bayeux.

ness of spirit: the absolute king was about to begin a reign of terror, and the law was administered by trembling slaves; submission might avert Henry's fatal wrath, but resistance was sure to provoke it; the whole court was leagued and banded against him, and as matters now stood, the church could no longer shield him. The Court of King's Bench, upon his plea of guilty, pronounced their sentence—that he was out of the protection of the law, that his lands, goods, and chattels were forfeited, and that his person was at the mercy of the king. With the hope of being allowed to retain his rank and property in the church, he drew up a deed transferring his entire personal estate to his gracious master, from whose bounty, he said, he had derived it all. The property thus surrendered was valued at half a million of crowns; but neither the amount nor the promptitude of the surrender could disarm persecution. He was presently told that he must quit York Place, as the king meant to live there himself, and that he must confine himself to his house at Esher. To this Wolsey only replied by prostrations and protestations of submission. When his implacable enemies, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who had both owed many favours to him in the days of his greatness, went to demand from



king to take to himself my house ready furnished at this time." He then issued from his sumptuous palace at Whitehall, and entered his barge. The Thames was covered with boats full of people, who hooted and shouted, and told him how happy they were to see him sent to the Tower. Their triumph was indeed ungenerous and misplaced, for the words of Wolsey's faithful attendant were fully verified; and right soon there came another hungry and lean minister "that bit nearer the bone than the old one."* And instead of descending the river to the Tower, Wolsey ascended it to Putney. As he was travelling by land from Putney to Esher, Sir John Norris, one of the royal chamberlains, overtook him on the rise of a hill, and presented him with a ring from the king, who had taken it from his own finger, with "a very comfortable message." "Therefore," added Sir John, "take patience, for I trust to see you in better estate than ever." The Lord Cardinal alighted from his mule, fell upon his knees in the road, pulled off his cap, and humbly thanked God for such happy intelligence from his lord the king. He told the chamberlain that his glad tidings were worth half a kingdom; but, as he had nothing left except the clothes on his back, he could make him no suitable reward. He, however, gave Sir John a small gold chain and crucifix. "As for my sovereign," he said, "sorry am I that I have no worthy token to send him! But stay, here is my fool, that rides beside me. I beseech thee take him to court, and give him to his majesty. I assure thee, for any nobleman's pleasure, he is worth a thousand pounds." The poor fool was so much attached to his old master, the Cardinal, that he would not leave him until forcibly carried off by six stout yeomen, who delivered him to the king. But other attendants besides his poor buffoon were fondly attached to Wolsey. It seems to have cost a pang even to his ambitious secretary Thomas Cromwell, ere he could quit him in his solitude and poverty at Esher, and get him to Court "to make or mar." Those

* Cavendish.

beautiful solitudes were gloomy and horrid to the Cardinal without the smiles of the king, and without the pomp to which he had been accustomed. But he was so closely shorn as nearly to be wanting at this time in the ordinary comforts of life. He soon fell prostrate with despondency and sickness. "I have been to visit the Cardinal in his misfortunes," writes the French ambassador, "and have seen the most striking change of fortune. He explained to me his hard case in the worst rhetoric that was ever heard. Both his tongue and his heart failed him. He recommended himself to the pity of the king and Madame (Francis and his mother), with sighs and tears, and, at last, left me, without having said anything half so moving as his appearance. His face is dwindled to one half of its natural size. In truth his misery is such, that his enemies, Englishmen as they are, cannot help pitying him: still they will carry things to extremities. As for his legation, the seals, his great authority, he thinks no more of them. He is ready to give up everything, even the shirt from his back, and to live in a hermitage, if the king would but desist from his displeasure." The Cardinal wrote the most abject letters to his "most gracious and merciful and most pious sovereign lord," call-



ment against Wolsey, containing forty-four articles, of a vague and ridiculous description, was presented to the Commons, who, after an eloquent speech by Thomas Cromwell, who was already rising fast in the king's service, threw it out. The Cardinal now fled rapidly. If he had been allowed to retain his various church preferments he would still have been wealthy. But in the beginning of the following year he was formally deprived of everything except the bishopric of York and the bishopric of Winchester, the far greater part of the revenue of the latter was appropriated by the king, who divided it among the Viscount of Rochford (Anne Boleyn's father), the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Sandys, Sir John Russell, and others, who, if not all favourable to the contemplated changes in the national religion, were all eager enough to share the spoils of the national church. In return, however, Wolsey received a free pardon, and some plate, furniture, and a little money for his present expenses. He was also permitted to come nearer to the court, and removed from Esher to Richmond. But Anne Boleyn and her party took the alarm, and the king being as cautious as ever, and not yet free from his matrimonial allegiance to Catherine, was easily induced to order him to retire to the north of England within his archbishopric. The Duke of Norfolk was Anne Boleyn's uncle; he was uncle to two beheaded queens, for the beautiful Catherine Howard was also his niece. None more eager than he to drive the Cardinal to a distance from the king. Meeting Thomas Cromwell one day he said to him, "Master Cromwell, methinks the king, thy master, makes no haste to go northward. I will, if he go not away I will tear him with my hands!" These words being reported to the Lord Cardinal at Richmond by Cromwell, his lordship said, "Well, Tom, it is time to be going!" The king sent him a little money for his journey, and he set out a short time before Easter.* Lingered at every stage, in the fond

* Cavendish.

hope of being recalled to court, Wolsey travelled to York. Yet, when once there, and with work to do, his mind seemed reconciled to the change, and he appeared to devote his whole soul to his ecclesiastical duties. Casting off his courtly pride and arrogance, he became meek and mild as a primitive apostle—courteous and affable to all men. The gentlemen of Yorkshire he entertained at a plain but hospitable table; to the poor he gave liberal alms, and (what was far better), abundant employment to three hundred of them in repairing the churches and houses of the sec. He won the hearts both of clergy and laity. But this winning of men's hearts did not suit the selfish and vindictive faction who now ruled at court, and who were alarmed not only at the Lord Cardinal's popularity, but also at a correspondence he was carrying on with the French king and with the pope. How they discovered this correspondence, or what was the real nature of it—or, in fact, whether there was any correspondence at all beyond some wishes expressed to the French ambassador that Francis would intercede in his behalf with Henry—is not very clear. But they made Henry believe that there was such correspondence, and that it was of a treasonable nature, and for the thwarting of the marriage with Anne Boleyn.



they became his dear friends."*. The Lord Cardinal, however, was disquieted by bad omens. Apparently he had never risen above those superstitions of the time, and his misfortunes, and his too certain knowledge of the power and malice of his enemies, may have rendered him the more sensitive and superstitious. One day as he was rising from dinner, Doctor Agostino, his Venetian physician, caught with his loose gown the great silver cross which was always placed at the end of the table, and threw it down on the head of Doctor Bonner, who had not yet risen from the table. Wolsey eagerly inquired whether blood had been drawn by this accident; and upon being told that it was so, he shook his head, and said, "It is *malum omen*." He afterwards explained to Cavendish, who was present, "that by the cross he understood himself; by Agostino, who threw it down, the person who should accuse him; and that Doctor Bonner, whose head was broken, to the effusion of blood, prefigured his death, which shortly came to pass." On the 4th of November, three days before that fixed for the installation in York Minster, as the Lord Cardinal was sitting at dinner in his house at Caywood, near York city, he was suddenly told that the Earl of Northumberland, with Sir Walter Walsh, had arrived from court, and was dismounting in the yard. He expressed regret that he had not arrived before dinner began, for the Earl had been brought up in his household, and he did not doubt that, as a friend, he had been chosen by the king to be the bearer of good news. He arose with a cheerful countenance to welcome Northumberland as he came into the hall. Seeing that the earl was rather numerously attended, and that most of the men with him were old servants of the family, he said, "Ah, my lord, I perceive that you observe the precepts and instructions which I gave you when you were abiding with me in your youth—to cherish your father's old servants. These be they that will not only serve and love you, but live and die with you." And the Cardinal then took the earl

* Cavendish.

With age, with cares, with maladies opprest,
He seeks the refuge of monastic rest;
Grief aids disease, remembered folly stings,
And his last sighs reproach the faith of kings."*

* Vanity of Human Wishes.



1

1





THOMAS MORE was born in **Milk-street, Cheapside**, in the city of **London**, in the year **1480**, or nine years after the birth of **Cardinal Wolsey**. He was the son of **Sir John More**, one of the justices of the Court of King's Bench. Sir John lived to the advanced age of ninety, dying in **1533**, only two years before his great son, who did so much reverence for him, that when he was Chancellor of England, in passing through **Westminster Hall** the Chancery, he never failed to fall on his knees and ask his father's blessing if he saw the old man sitting in the court. Thomas was educated at **St. Anthony's school** in **Threadneedle-street**, one of the many free schools which then existed in **London**, "to teach all that will come." The master of **St. Anthony's** was **Thomas Cholas Hart**, a scholar of some celebrity. About his seventeenth year young More was placed in the household of **Cardinal Morton**, Archbishop of **Canterbury** and **Lord Chancellor of England**. This was in accordance

with the custom of those times, when the sons even of great noblemen were sent to be brought up in the houses of great prelates. Thus, as we have seen in the life of Cardinal Wolsey, the young Earl of Northumberland had been trained in that great churchman's household. These prelates seem always to have entertained some men of learning, from whose instructions the young men committed to their charge or service derived many advantages. In after times More neatly characterised Morton as "a man of great natural wit, very well learned, and honorable in behaviour, *lacking nowise ways to win favor.*" The Cardinal, who loved natural wit in others, became much attached to him. At Christmas there were merry plays given in the lord cardinal's palace. "At Christmas-tide," says his son-in-law and biographer, Roper, "More would suddenly sometimes step in among the players, and, never studying for the matter, make a part of his own there presently among them, which made the lookers on more sport than all the players beside. In whose wit and towardness the Cardinal much delighting, would often say of him to the nobles that dined with him—'This child here, waiting at the table, who-soever shall live to see it, will prove a marvellous man.'""* When Thomas More entered the household of the pri-



a perfect knowledge of the Greek language, for that end had gone into Italy and had spent three years in that country, studying under De Chalcondyles, Poliziano, and Hermolaus Barbarus. Grocyn had returned to Oxford, and had begun to teach Greek—for the first time as it ought to be—about six years before More repaired to that city, the members of which were now divided into factions, called the Greeks and the Trojans. More, on his first arrival, appears to have rallied under the banner of the Trojans, and to have laughed at those who considered that religion and morality were endangered by the study of Homer. Grocyn was an enthusiast, not only in Greek, but for every species of learning; contented with riches and honours, and was so generous and unselfish as to be always ready to give, out of the little he possessed, to friends and scholars: he was, if not a great humourist, and his admiring pupil seems to have caught some of his eccentricities. More also derived instruction in Greek from the learned John Roper, who like Grocyn had travelled in Italy to learn the language under scholars who had fled from Constantinople at the taking of that city by the Turks. John Roper indeed calls Lynacer his Greek teacher; but it appears that the learned physician only gave occasional lectures at Oxford, while Grocyn was settled there as a regular teacher of Greek. More had been long at Oxford (probably only a few weeks) when he became acquainted with Erasmus, who resided in constant communion and fellowship with Grocyn during the greater part of the years 1497 and 1498. Erasmus, a learned Dutchman, who was thirty years old, formed an intimate friendship with More, who was only in his nineteenth year; and this friendship continued for many years. When More had risen high in the world, and had never of serving men of learning and merit, nothing would have given him more delight than the attending recommendation sent him from the Continent by Erasmus in favour of a poor scholar. It was during his residence at Oxford that More wrote the greater

part of his English poems. He seems to have been held in the highest esteem as well for his wit and humour and sociable qualities, as for his industry and learning. Upon quitting Oxford he took up the study of the law, first at New Inn and afterwards at Lincoln's Inn. He must have laboured very hard at his new studies, for he was soon as noted a man among lawyers as he had been at Oxford among classical scholars. His legal knowledge and reputation obtained for him the post of reader at Furnival's Inn, where, for the space of three years, he delivered lectures on the law. About the same time he delivered theological lectures at St. Lawrence's Church in the Old Jewry, on the work of St. Augustin, '*De Civitate Dei*.' Roper mentions that these lectures were attended by the erudite Grocyn, and "by all the chief learned of the city of London." He was always fond of theology, and for some time balanced in the choice of a profession between the church and the law; but at last he decided for the paternal profession. To prepare himself by diligent and uninterrupted study, he took up his lodging among the monks of the Charter-house, the Chartreux or Carthusians of London, where he remained for the space of four years, and "until he resorted to the house of one Mr. Colte, a gentleman of Essex." This



Baron of the Exchequer. He was considered one of the most eloquent speakers of his day; and it is said that before the accession of Henry VIII. there was no court of law in which he was not engaged as counsel. Roper says that he was called to parliament before he had finished reading in the law of court. In the last parliament of Henry VII. he was of the House of Commons, where he boldly opposed a subsidy demanded by the king for the marriage of his eldest daughter Mary. Henry VII., a king who never forgave what he considered an injury, he, as Bacon says of him, "would sometimes strain the laws to his prerogative," allowing the laws to be an impediment to him to work his will," was in the habit of letting loose those terrible fines and extortions upon and Dudley upon the parliamentary opposition, and not unfrequently, to wreak his vengeance upon persons as well as upon property. A gentleman of the chamber who had attended the debate in the House told the king that a beardless boy had disappointed all his purpose. Hereupon there was much wrath; and "forasmuch as he nothing having, he could lose, his Grace devised a causeless quarrel with his father, keeping him in the Tower till he had him pay to him one hundred pounds in fine."* it is said, was so alarmed that he made up his mind to leave the country; but the old king died shortly afterwards and saved him from this hard necessity. As the relation between the royal court and the city was then loose, and as Henry VIII. and Wolsey were very intimate in the city and in very familiar communications with the principal citizens, the learned, witty, and alert must have become known to both these personages in the early period.

After the accession of the young king, we find that by his Majesty's consent, sent abroad by the king's merchants to settle "certain great causes between them and the merchants of the Steel-yard." He

* Roper.

was greatly applauded for his success in this mission. The government seized at Southampton a rich ship belonging to the pope. The pope's ambassador retained More as counsel, none being so meet as he, who could readily translate and repeat in Latin all that was said on either side. More gained the cause, and much honour thereby.* Already he had been repeatedly urged by Wolsey to enter the king's service; but he was well satisfied with the emoluments of his profession, and was very shy of going to court. But the capital was now ringing with his fame and his witty sayings, and the absolute Henry would no longer be refused. Having no better place then vacant, he made More Master of Requests; and thus commenced a faithful service which lasted twenty years and above. "A good part thereof," says his son-in-law, "used the king upon holidays, when he had done his own devotions, to send for him into his traverse, and there sometimes in matters of astronomy, geometry, divinity, and such other faculties, and sometimes of his worldly affairs, to sit and confer with him; and otherwise in the night would he have him up into the leads, there to consider with him the diversities, courses, motions, and operations of the stars and planets. And because he was of so pleasant a disposition it pleased the



and in France. He appears to have corresponded directly with Wolsey, and to have sought that powerful man's patronage and friendship with much assiduity. The Cardinal was much pleased with his services, and favoured his promotion without any visible sign of jealousy. In 1516 More was admitted into the privy council, and received other signal marks of royal favour. It was about this time that More wrote his 'History of Richard the Third,' and his more celebrated work, 'Utopia, or the Happy Republic.' The history was written in good bold vernacular English, the political romance in elegant Latin. The history is but a fragment, breaking off suddenly at the point when Morton, Bishop of Ely (afterwards primate and chancellor, and More's patron) endeavours to persuade the Duke of Buckingham to declare against Richard as a tyrant and usurper, and leaving untold the miserable failure and fate of Buckingham, the complicated intrigues of the Earl of Richmond, and the grand catastrophe of Bosworth field. But what More tells us is in many respects valuable: he evidently derived much information from his patron, Morton, who was one of the chief actors in those revolutions, and some portions of the narrative are given with extraordinary vigour and effect. Shakspeare has followed, and has scarcely improved upon, the terrible scene in the Tower, where Richard arrests the members of the council, and sends Lord Hastings to the block. More imitates Livy in putting long-winded speeches into the mouths of historical personages, and in explaining, by means of such speeches, many of the circumstances of the story, and the feelings with which they were regarded at the time of their occurrence. On the whole, however, the narrative is easy and flowing, and far superior to any prose composition of the sort which preceded it in England. More, indeed, may be taken as the first historian England produced: those who had gone before him were, indeed, only chroniclers and annalists. The 'Utopia' was published first at Louvain in 1516, and afterwards at Basle in 1518. The object of this work was to exhibit a perfect commonwealth in an imaginary island. The ima-

ginary society existing in this fabled island is constructed on the principle that no one in the state shall have a right to separate property, since separate property is said to involve an inequality of distribution, and thus to occasion great suffering to those who are obliged to labour, and mental depravation to those who live on the labours of others. Slavery, however, is admitted as an element, but no family possesses more than two slaves. Agriculture, and a taste for rural pursuits, are kept alive by a residence in the country; but the civilization of city life is not lost sight of, for one half of a household passes two years in the town, while the other half lives in the country, and they all take the town and country life, turn and turn about, and each time for a space of two years. It is reasonably doubted whether the fundamental principles of this republic, and the political opinions expressed in the 'Utopia,' are to be seriously considered as More's real sentiments, or as a model which he would have men to imitate. Such a republic, if it could be made, would be a dead flat, without variety or spirit; a dry, hard, rectangular thing; a moral chess-board; a formality more stiff and chilling than that of the Chinese empire: but the indestructible feelings of human nature should seem to be eternally opposed to its construction. Neverthe-



to punish their children, then, to teach them." And in another page: "If you suffer your people to be ill educated, and their manners to be corrupted from their infancy, and then punish them for those crimes to which their first education disposed them, what else is to be concluded but that you first make thieves, and then punish them?" This was said at the beginning of the sixteenth century under Henry the Eighth, when it was a novel and startling truth. Alas! we may still repeat it, and in good measure as a reproach, in the middle of the nineteenth century. The work abounds with pleasantry and humour, and a subdued and unmelodious irony. The humour and the quiet satire are, indeed, the most prominent characteristics of this little book, which is much more frequently named than read. The title of 'Utopia' has passed into a proverb; but very few people peruse the romance either in its original Latin or in its very satisfactory English translation. It may certainly be included among the various old works to which Swift was considerably indebted in conceiving 'Gulliver's Travels.' But More has none of Swift's gall and black bile. The same stories were told of the 'Utopia' that were afterwards related about 'Gulliver's Travels.' People took the imaginary island for a real one, "inasmuch that many great learned men, as Budeus and Johannes Paludanus, upon a fervent seal, wished that some excellent divines might be sent thither to preach the Gospel; yea, there were here amongst us at home sundry good men and learned divines very desirous to undertake the voyage, to bring the people to the faith, whose manners they did so well like."*

More, the busiest man in a busy and absorbing profession, had but little leisure to devote to his literary pursuits. He tells us himself, in his introduction to that work, that he wrote the 'Utopia' by snatches when he was overwhelmed with business; and that, indeed, all the time which he could gain for himself was that which he stole from his sleep and meals.

* Fuller, Worthies.

In the year 1517, when the London apprentices, in their wanton turbulence and ignorant hatred of foreigners, made the terrible riot or insurrection which got the name of the "Evil May-day," More went out among the desperate mobs and endeavoured to restore tranquillity by reasoning with them; but, though he was much respected and beloved, "as being a native of that city," he could do no good. The subdued rioters were not forgiven until four or five of them were hanged, drawn, and quartered; about ten of them hanged on gibbets erected in the streets of the city; and some four hundred of them brought before the king in Westminster Hall, with halters round their necks, barefooted, stripped to their very shirts, and bound, one by one, to a long thick rope. In the course of the year 1519 More resigned his office of under-sheriff, or Judge of the Sheriff's Court, and in the second year after this (in 1521) he was knighted and made treasurer of the Exchequer. He was now very frequently at court, where the king appears to have consulted him on all matters connected with learning and education. The hostility of a part of the clergy to Greek still continued, and one of the Trojans or Scotists ventured to abuse the language of Homer in a sermon preached before the king. After sermon-time Henry



read?" The forlorn preacher, bethinking himself, said that now he did remember having once perused a thing they called *Moria*—meaning Erasmus's little book, '*Encomium Morie*,' or '*The Praise of Folly*.' "And may it please your highness," said Sir Richard Pace, who was present, and a true Greek, "was not the reader made for the book? Could he have chosen better?" The poor Trojan was dismissed with strict orders never more to presume to preach before the king.* Sir Thomas was employed by Henry in other public missions to France and the Netherlands; and when he was at home and Wolsey was abroad, Henry often made use of his hand in writing his instructions to the cardinal. Several of these letters in More's handwriting are preserved in the British Museum and in the State-Paper Office.† In his private letters to Erasmus he laments his hard fate in being obliged to leave his friends and his books to discharge these perplexing and disagreeable commissions. And certainly little pleasure or honour for such a man as More was to be gained by serving in Henry's crooked and always tricky diplomacy. In the year 1522, when the Emperor Charles V. paid his second visit to England, and was conducted into the city of London in triumph, More was selected, on account of his wit and scholarship, to welcome the emperor at the city gates; and there he delivered in choice Latin an eloquent oration, which greatly pleased Charles without displeasing the jealous Henry.

In the parliament which met in 1523 More was chosen Speaker. He maintained the dignity of his post at the risk of giving offence to the all-potent cardinal. Finding the Commons slow in passing some money bills, Wolsey resolved to go down to the house in person in order to make them quicken their speed. Although such a visit was a breach of privilege, the Commons, after some debate, agreed that the cardinal should be ad-

* *Erasmi Epist.*

† Some of them have been published by the Record Commission, in *State Papers* relating to the Reign of Henry VIII.

mitted and heard, but not answered in the house. The gorgeous favourite, in all his pomp, and attended by an army of servants and retainers, entered the house, and after dwelling upon the great expenses of the war against Francis I., demanded forthwith a vote of the fifth of every man's goods. When he had done he looked to More, as the Speaker, for an answer; but More sat as silent as a statue. He then spoke to a member; but the member only rose from his seat to show his respect, and then sat down again without saying a word. The cardinal then spoke to another gentleman, but he only rose and sat down again. All the members were determined not to commit the privileges of the house: they were as silent in their seats as a set of Chinese mandarins on a mantel-piece. The fiery cardinal soon lost his little patience. "Gentlemen," said he, "as I am sent here immediately from the king, it is not unreasonable to expect an answer; yet here is without doubt a surprising and most obstinate silence!" As none spoke, he turned once more to the Speaker, and demanded an explanation. More, reverently falling on his knees, to express, we suppose, his reverence to the king, excused the silence of the members. "They were abashed," he insinuated, "at the sight of so noble a personage, his presence being enough to overcome the wisest and most learned men in the realm; but his coming thither," he observed, "was far from expedient, and contrary to the ancient liberties of the house; and as to requiring a reply from him individually, the thing was simply impossible. The members had, indeed, trusted him with their voices; but unless each could infuse the essence of their several wits into his head, he alone, in so weighty a matter, was unable to make his grace an answer."* The cardinal rose up in a rage and quitted the house. It appears, however, that in the debates which followed the departure of the cardinal, Sir Thomas More spoke stiffly for the court, and pleaded that four shillings in every pound was not too much to vote for the king. The demand

* *Roper.*

was lessened by one-half; but the Commons would not consent to pay even two shillings in the pound, and the most stormy debate that had ever yet been known was kept up for fifteen or sixteen days. The cardinal again went down to the house, but with no better success than before; no words could he get from them except that it was not their practice to answer strangers or debate in their presence. The king then sent for Montague, a leading member of the house, who was afterwards chief justice. When Montague fell on his knees before the king, Henry clapped his hand upon his head, and exclaimed, "Ho! man, will they not suffer my bill to pass? Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of yours shall be off!" The bill was passed, but not until the amount of the tax had been considerably diminished. It is said that Wolsey took great offence at More's conduct on this occasion, and at some satirical expressions he had used in the house against the cardinal's pomp and pride; but the feeling of resentment could not have been strong, for More continued to thrive and rise, and in 1525 the king made him Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Perhaps his pleadings for the four shillings in the pound may have conciliated both the king and cardinal. Yet from his conduct to More, Wolsey seems entitled to the benefit of the doubt that he was much less jealous and vindictive than he has been generally represented. The presenting of the Speaker by the Commons for the recognition of the sovereign was then a great deal more than the mere matter of form which it now is. Wolsey considered that it was he that had put More in the Speaker's chair; and after the parliament had risen, he, "in his gallery at Whitehall," complained and said—"Would to God you had been at Rome, Mr. More, when I made you Speaker!" Sir Thomas, who had had nothing but labour and anxiety in the office, said—"Your grace not offended, so would I too!" and then, "to wind such quarrel out of the cardinal's head, he began to talk of the gallery, saying, 'I like this new gallery of yours even better than your gallery at Hampton Court.'" *Roper says that Wolsey, as a punishment, would have*

sent More on an unpleasant embassy to Spain, but it is quite clear from the narrative of this best of biographers that neither the anger of Wolsey nor that of the king lasted long. It is, indeed, immediately after this little storm that the biographer mentions that the king, "for the pleasure he took in his company, would suddenly sometimes come home to his house at Chelsea to be merry with him," and to walk with him in his "fair garden." The correspondence between More and the cardinal continued to be rather friendly and familiar than otherwise, More's humility and deference being generally reserved for the conclusion of his letters, which he invariably signed (after prayer for the cardinal's honour and health) "your humble orator and most bounden beadsman, Thomas More:" compliments there are, indeed, in abundance, and a sort of admission throughout that he, More, has owed his fortune or promotion to Wolsey.

Wherever his religious scruples were touched, More was wonderfully bold and upright. When Henry was making up his mind to the extreme measure of divorcing Queen Catherine, he put into More's hands a treatise he had written on the subject, requesting his advice. Sir Thomas tried to excuse himself by saying he was no divine. The king bade him confer with some of the bishops.



the most part of Christian princes be at mortal wars, they were all at universal peace: the second, that whereas the church of Christ is at this present sore afflicted with many errors and heresies, it were settled in perfect uniformity of religion: the third, that whereas the matter of the king's marriage is now come in question, it were to the glory of God and the quietness of all parties brought to a good conclusion."

When this "matter of the king's marriage" drove Wolsey in disgrace from the court, the king looked about for some lawyer of high reputation and influence over his brethren to succeed him as Lord Chancellor. In the whole profession there was none stood so high as More; but the king appears to have doubted whether he would be sufficiently submissive, or whether he would, in every case, place the prerogative of the crown above the law. After some hesitation Sir Thomas was, however, named to the vacant dignity on the 25th of October, 1529. In taking his seat as Chancellor, More spoke honourably and tenderly of his predecessor Wolsey, and very humbly of his own qualifications. "But when I look upon this seat," said he; "when I think how great and what kind of personages have possessed this place before me; when I call to mind who he was that sat in it last of all—a man of what singular wisdom, of what notable experience, what a prosperous and favourable fortune he had for a great space, and how at the last he had a most grievous fall, and died inglorious—I have cause enough by my predecessor's example to think honour but slippery, and this dignity not so grateful to me as it may seem to others; for both is it a hard matter to follow with like paces or praises a man of such admirable wit, prudence, authority, and splendour, to whom I may seem but as the lighting of a candle when the sun is down; and also the sudden and unexpected fall of so great a man as he was, doth terribly put me in mind that this honour ought not to please me too much, nor the lustre of this glistening seat dazzle my eyes."* Yet, when Wolsey's impeachment was brought into Parliament, More was obliged to

* More, *Life of More*.

make a sacrifice of his good feelings to please the tyrant, and to call Henry "the father and shepherd of his people," and Wolsey "a great rotten wether," that had been separated from the sound sheep, because he had juggled with the good king craftily and untruly.* More, however, discharged the duties of his new dignity with astonishing impartiality and integrity. This made him many enemies. But not even the bitterest of these ever attempted to charge him with a corrupt exercise of his power as chancellor. Though, like his friend Erasmus, and many of the learned and disinterested professors of the ancient faith, More—who, in his 'Utopia,' had satirized the idle and luxurious monks more severely than any other class of men—was not indisposed to extensive changes in the discipline, rituals, and management of the Roman church, he was still, in all capital points of faith, a believing and devout Catholic, looking with consternation upon the doctrines of Luther and the other reformers, and regarding the schism in the Christian church as the sure source of long and terrible wars, if not as the origin of a universal anarchy. But fear, which is one of the greatest sources of cruelty, did not make More cruel. Fox, the Martyrologist, who wrote with the zeal of a partisan, at a time when the horrors



“whilst More was chancellor, no man was put to death for these pestilent dogmas.” This, too, is confirmed by More’s own expressed declarations, in his ‘Apology,’ published in 1533, the year after his downfall from power, when he was surrounded by busy and powerful enemies, and when his assertion, if false, could easily have been contradicted. It appears to have been a few days after, and not before More’s retirement, that Thomas Bilney, a learned and amiable man, was burned at Smithfield for having attempted to expose the doctrinal errors of popery.

It is said that More’s attention to business was so exemplary, and his despatch of it so wonderful, that he left not a single cause depending in the Chancery Court. The following epigram is an old one:—

When More some years had chancellor been,
No more suits did remain;
The same shall never more be seen,
Till *More* be there again.

While he held the great seal, More was obliged to perform several offices which went against his conscience. Thus, as chancellor, he was sent down to the House of Commons with twelve peers, spiritual and temporal, to declare all that the king had done for dissolving his marriage with Catherine; to repeat the fiction the king had set up as sufficient justification of the divorce; and to show that Henry, like a virtuous prince, and for the safety of his conscience and the peace of his kingdom, had consulted divers universities, not only at home, but also abroad, even in the pope’s dominions. At this time no man seemed to stand better than he did with the king. More, however, seems never to have forgotten the selfish, capricious, and tyrannical character of his royal master. The king, says his best biographer, one day paid More an unexpected visit, coming to dine with him at his house at Chelsea, and after dinner walked with him for an hour in his garden with his arm round the chancellor’s neck. As soon as his majesty was gone, *Mr. Roper, son-in-law to Sir Thomas*, observed to him

how happy he was, since the king had treated him with a familiarity which he had never shown to any person before, except once to Cardinal Wolsey. "I thank the Lord," said More, "I find his grace a very good lord indeed; and I believe he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within the realm. However, son Roper, I may tell thee I have no cause to be proud thereof; for if my head would win him a castle in France, it would not fail to go."*

He was constant in his attendance at church, and, being a good musician, he always sang in the choir. "The Duke of Norfolk coming on a time to Chelsea to dine with him, fortun'd to find him in the church in the choir, with a surplice on his back, singing; to whom, after service, as they went homeward arm in arm, the duke said—'God's body, God's body, my Lord Chancellor! What! a parish clerk! a parish clerk! You dishonour the king and his office!' 'Nay,' quoth Sir Thomas, smiling on the duke, 'your grace may not think that your king and mine will be offended with me for serving God his master, or thereby account his office dishonoured.'"

When the king again pressed him "about the marriage with Mistress Anne" the chancellor fell upon his



fail in their object. He foresaw that the rapid progress of events which were bringing on the king's marriage with Anne would call for the use of the great seal, which his conscience would not allow him to use in that matter. Nor could he possibly be blind to the temper of the court and the occurrences of the day, which went to prove that all law was to be laid prostrate, that a reign of terror was at hand, and that the religious fury of contending faiths would be superadded to the dark intrigues and spites of selfish political factions. Thus situated, More drew his honest cloak about him, and retired from the stage. It was not until he had made long and importunate suit through "his singular dear friend" the Duke of Norfolk, that he obtained permission to resign the great seal into his majesty's hands.* Henry received it with thanks and praise for his past conduct, and promised to be a good and gracious master unto him in all time to come. And after this the Duke of Norfolk was commanded to declare in the most public manner that his majesty had, with much pain, yielded to the prayer of Sir Thomas More to be released from his office.

So honest in his office as chancellor, and at all times, had been this successful lawyer, diplomatist, and statesman, that, after resigning the chancellorship, and paying his debts, his whole fortune in gold and silver was not worth a hundred pounds, and his whole income, independent of grants from the crown, did not amount to more than fifty pounds per annum. Though never rich, he was much richer than this before he entered the king's service. He had spent much for his sovereign, whose royal grants did not exceed, all together, fifty pounds a-year. He indulged his merry humour when other men's hearts would have been well nigh broken. His wife Alice

* More pleaded bad health, and apparently not without reason. He says, in a letter to Thomas Cromwell, "This disease of mine is thought to have grown by the stooping and leaning on my breast that I have used in writing."

(the second of his bed), like most other women, was fond of rank and titles, and other worldly vanities, and delighted in hearing her husband called *My Lord*. On the morning after his resignation More went with his lady to Chelsea church, where, as was his custom, he sat with other gentlemen in the choir, while the ladies sat or kneeled by themselves in the body of the church. In the days of his chancellorship it had been usual for one of his household to go to the lady at the end of the service and say, "*My Lord is gone.*" This morning Sir Thomas went himself to his wife, and pulling off his cap, and bowing humbly, said, "*Madam, my Lordship is gone.*" His wife being but slow in understanding a joke—although she must have had great practice, as More was always joking—could not conceive what he meant; and when the light broke upon her, she thought it no joke at all, but gave way to a fit of passion and mortification. But when More called his family together to discuss seriously how they were all to live upon the little that was left to him, he could not restrain his merry happy humour. Seeing his children and grandchildren perplexed and silent, he said—"Well! I have been brought up at Oxford, at an Inn of Chancery, at Lincoln's Inn, and also in the King's Court, from the lowest



gether.”* What a contrast is this to the manner in which the gorgeous and extra-dependent Wolsey bore his misfortunes!

More went both manfully and merrily to work in the trying task of reducing his establishment, so as to fit his altered income. Every great man entertained his fool or jester. There was no amusing fashionable company without a fool. The king had his fool, and one of great celebrity; his ministers had each his fool; his archbishops and bishops could not do without them. Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury and Chancellor, in whose house More had been trained, had a fool of good repute; and More has given that fool an imperishable existence in the first book of his ‘Utopia.’ Upon attaining to greatness, More himself retained a fool—Henry Patenson, the Henricus Patensonus Morio of Erasmus, who salutes him in the dedication to More of the ‘Praise of Folly,’ and who mentions him in several of his epistles; but these men of the cap and bells were expensive, and the ex-chancellor must now part with his; and casting about him where he might best bestow his fool, he sent him to the lord mayor for the time being. His gentlemen and yeomen he recommended to the service of some peers and prelates; and his eight lusty watermen, and his state-barge (state-carriages were not as yet, and the river Thames was “the silent highway”), he sent to Sir Thomas Audley, his successor in the chancellorship. Having provided for his dependants, he felt no sting in poverty. In his common intercourse with his friends he was serene and facetious, and his serenity was not disturbed when tyranny and danger were present to his mind’s eye. He said to his beloved family that there was a happiness in suffering for conscience’ sake and the love of God, and that if his wife and children would but hold up their hearts, and not weaken his, he would run merrily to death. It required a fiend-like malice to strike at such a man!

When obliged to appear in public, he retained all his wit and readiness at repartee. A member of the house of *Manners*, who by the king’s capricious favours had come

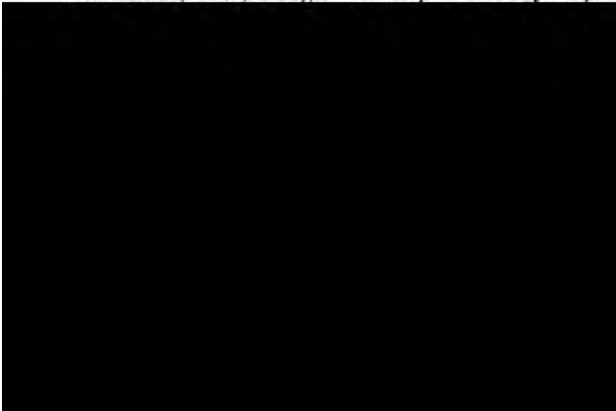
suddenly to some title or dignity, was inflated by the accident: he had been a great friend to More in his prosperity, but perceiving the king and world to frown upon him, he wanted to insult and pick a quarrel with the ex-chancellor, and so said, in More's hearing, "*Honores mutant mores.*" "Sir," replied Sir Thomas, "Honours change a Manners, but not More."

In the month of January, 1533, Henry was privately married to Anne Boleyn in a remote garret of the palace of Whitehall, formerly York House, and the residence of Cardinal Wolsey, by Dr. Lee, one of the court chaplains, who was told by the king that the church of Rome had granted a divorce, and that the pope's instrument to that effect was under lock and key in the royal closet. On the 30th of March Cranmer was consecrated as Archbishop of Canterbury, taking the oaths of canonical obedience to the pope. On the 12th of May Cranmer declared the discarded Queen Catherine to be truly and manifestly contumacious; on the 23rd of May he pronounced her marriage to be null and void; and on the 28th of the same month he declared that his master had already been lawfully married to the Lady Anne; that their marriage was and had been public and manifest; and that he now confirmed it by his judicial and pastoral



mer had taken so conspicuous a part were contrary to the Christian law, and abhorrent to his own conscience, not only declined going to the abbey, but warned his friends the bishops as to the consequences which might follow their attendance at the coronation. He said: "Take heed, my lords: by procuring your lordships to be present at the coronation, they will next ask you to preach for the setting forth thereof, and finally to write books to all the world in defence thereof." We have little doubt that this answer was as much as a death-warrant to him that made it. On the 11th of July the pope annulled the judgment given by Cranmer, and published his bull of excommunication against Henry and Anne. Then began in earnest the terrible storm, which lasted with scarcely any interruption for twenty years, and which was accompanied by an amount of misery, bloodshed, crime, and meanness never equalled in the history of this country. Henry, retaining all the dogmas of the old religion, and being readier than ever to burn Protestants, threw off entirely the authority of the pope, and declared himself supreme head of the English church. A fearful persecution was commenced against all such priests and monks as would not submit to and applaud the sudden changes; and because these ecclesiastics, and the great body of the people, expressed much sympathy for the king's discarded wife, poor Catherine, in her retirement or prison at Amptill, was treated with execrable barbarity. These persecutions only gave a louder tongue to the discontents and murmurings they were meant to repress. Two monks from the pulpit, Friar Peto and Friar Elstow, preaching before the king at Greenwich, told him to his face that his marriage with Anne Boleyn was unlawful, and would provoke the vengeance of heaven. Other people, who were rather to be set down as enthusiasts than as impostors, began to see supernatural visions and to utter prophecies; and they found a credulous people prone to believe whatever they uttered. The most famed of the seers was Elizabeth Barton, a young woman of Allington, called the "*Holy Maid of Kent*." She had been subject to fits

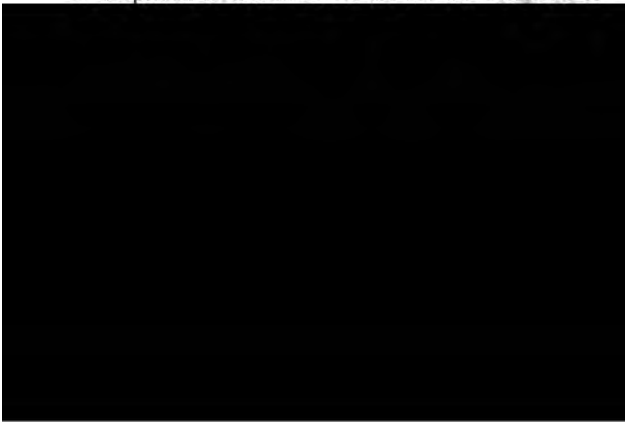
and a strange kind of disease, and when the fits were upon her there came from her distorted mouth very strange sounds and words. The incoherent sentences which the maid uttered were caught up as prophecies, and she herself was induced to believe that she was a prophetess. Her epilepsy and her fancied revelations were of no recent date: they had been known in the country for years. They seem to have first attracted notice at the time when Cardinal Wolsey, with the pope's licence, was suppressing some few nunneries and friaries. The Holy Maid of Kent, however, was not seriously molested during the time of Wolsey, who had a mind superior to such persecutions. Some discontented priests took up the maid and her awful vaticinations. She announced that in a dream she had seen God and Cardinal Wolsey together, and had heard the Almighty declare that unless the lord cardinal used his authority properly, it should be sorely laid to his charge. The priests not only took down her words in writing, but caused them to be printed and circulated. The king showed some of these sibylline leaves to More, of whose learning and wit he then made so much account, and More told him that he found nothing in the maid's words worth notice; "for, seeing that some part fell in rythm,



he durst not and would not be bold in judging the maid's miracles. In the course of the same year, More is said to have been induced by some monks, who were afterwards executed as the maid's accomplices, to see the prophetess. But it is said that he refused to hear her speak any words about the king. The doom of the prophetess was precipitated by her venturing to prophesy (apparently at the beginning of 1533) that if Henry put away Catherine, he would die some infamous death before seven months, and be succeeded on the throne by Catherine's daughter, the pious princess Mary. The jealous eye of the government was now upon her: of a sudden, Elizabeth and a number of her alleged accomplices were apprehended and brought to that tyrannical and terrible court the Star Chamber. According to a contemporary annalist, the matter was investigated "by the great labour, diligence, and pains-taking of the Archbishop of Canterbury (Cranmer) and the Lord Cromwell, and one called Hugh Latimer, a priest, which shortly after was made Bishop of Worcester."* In the month of November, 1533, the Holy Maid and her friends were sentenced by the Star Chamber to stand on a sort of pillory at Paul's Cross, and there publicly declare that the whole business of the visions and prophesyings had been a deliberate piece of imposture. They all confessed as commanded, but evidently in the hope of saving their lives and escaping any further punishment. It is even believed that the ministers who had tried them had given a promise to this effect, in order to extract from them the public declaration. As the king gave a much better proof of the maid's being no true prophetess, by doing that which she had warned him not to do, and by outliving the term she had fixed for his death, the maid and her companions might have been safely dismissed with contempt. But they were all sent back to prison; and when the slavish and brutalized parliament met in the month of January of the following year, 1534, they passed a bill of at-

* Hall.

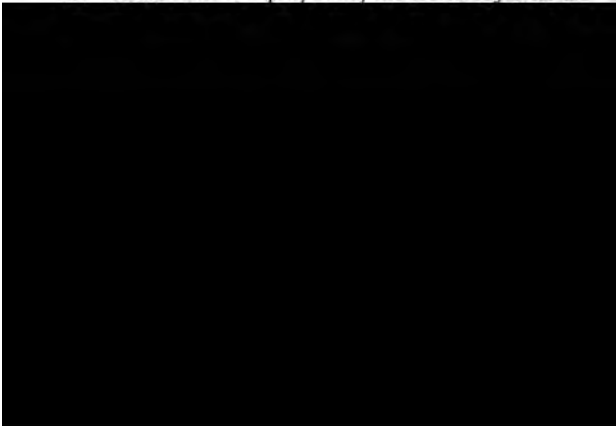
tainer of treason against the maid; Bocking, a monk of Canterbury; Maister, the rector of her parish of Allington; Dering, a monk; Gold, bachelor of divinity; Rich, a friar; and Risby, a gentleman; and then a bill of misprision of treason against several other persons of greater note, who were charged with having had communications with the false prophetess, and with having concealed her treasonable predictions. On the 21st of April, the poor maid and the six men attainted of treason were conveyed to Tyburn, and there hanged, drawn, and quartered in the old bestial manner. According to the somewhat suspected authority of the contemporary annalists who belonged to the party adverse to her, the poor prophetess, at the place of execution, not only repeated the declaration which she had made at St. Paul's Cross, but also confessed that she had been prompted by learned men, who had endeavoured to turn her prophecies to their own advantage. Among those accused of holding correspondence with the holy maid were Edward Thwaites, gentleman; Thomas Laurence, registrar to the Archdeacon of Canterbury; John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester; and Sir Thomas More, late lord chancellor. But More's name was struck out of the bill of misprision of treason before the bill was submitted to



master to forbear, lest he should be dishonoured throughout Christendom. These ministers said that More's innocence with respect to the prophesyings of the Kentish maid was so clear, that mayhap the parliament would not pass the bill at all if his name were in it; that it would be better for the king to wait awhile for the gratification of his vengeance against More, and they doubted not soon to find a meet occasion "to serve his turn." To the last cheering prospect the bloodthirsty tyrant yielded, and More's name was not inserted. When his beloved daughter Margaret Roper spoke with a transport of joy to her father about this escape, More said, "In faith, Meg, what is put off is not given up—*quod differtur non aufertur*." When the Duke of Norfolk said to him, "By the mass! Master More, it is perilous striving with princes! The anger of a prince brings death!" the imperturbable man replied, "Is that all, my Lord? Then the difference between you and me is but this, that I shall die to-day and you to-morrow." And before this reign of terror closed, the great Norfolk was attainted of treason, his accomplished son the Earl of Surrey was beheaded, and he himself only escaped by Henry's dying in the night before the morning fixed for his execution.

Ministers soon found the opportunity they wished for to serve their master's turn. An infamous statute was hurried through parliament, making it high treason after the 1st of May, 1534, to write, speak, do, or say anything against the king's lawful matrimony with Queen Anne, and enjoining all persons to take an oath to maintain the whole contents of the statute. On the 30th of March, the day of closing the session, when there was no time for debating upon it, the Chancellor Audley read the king's letters patent prescribing the form of the oath to be taken, and appointing Archbishop Cranmer, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the chancellor to be commissioners for exacting and receiving the said oath. This was a trap for More and Fisher, but it caught many others. Within a fortnight Sir Thomas was summoned from his quiet house at Chelsea, to which he never re-

turned again, to the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, there to appear before Cranmer and the three other oath-commissioners. On his way across the river he whispered to his son-in-law, "Son Roper! I thank our Lord the field is won!" By this he meant that he had triumphed over his natural affections, and was ready to die rather than sully his conscience. The commissioners made him read the statute and the form of the oath, and then called upon him to swear. This More declined doing, but at the same time offered to swear to the maintenance of the order of succession to the throne as established by parliament. He could not, he said, swear to the whole contents without offending against his own conscience; but he was quite ready to take an oath that in the refusal he was actuated by nothing but pure scruples of conscience. The commissioners said that Lords and Commons and Bishops had taken the oath without any scruple at all, and that he was the first recusant; but the prisoner, knowing that no sincere Catholic could take it except with mental reservation, and being determined not to make the pliability of their consciences the rule of his, was not to be moved. He was committed to the custody of the abbot of Westminster, and on the 17th of April, 1534, the fourth day after his



l at your liberty, if you would but do as the bishops done?" She tried to tempt him into weakness and passion by speaking of his fair house at Chelsea, his garden and orchard, his gallery and library, his desolate and weeping children. His affectionate daughter, Margaret Roper, had a nobler soul, and she administered to his moral strength, instead of trying to create a weakness within him. By the savage order of the king he deprived the glorious wit and scholar of the solace of books, and of the use of pen, ink, and paper. But the commiserating jailor put scraps of paper in his way, and upon them, and with pieces of charcoal, he wrote to Fisher and to the daughter that was so worthy of him. Not filthy prison, nor the imminent scaffold, could quench the old spirit in him. His witty conceits flowed from him in that dungeon as readily as Fuller's flowed from his pen when that rich humourist was writing for ease in happier times in his own pleasant study. When they took his books and pens from him, he shut up his prison-window, saying, "Now the wares are gone, the tools taken away, we must shut up shop." In the last letters he wrote with charcoal to his high-born daughter Margaret, he said—"If I were to devote in writing how much pleasure your daughterly letters give me, *a peck of coals would not be to make the pens.*" For a long period he was without all resort of family or friends; and when his youngest child was first admitted into the Tower to see him, it appears to have been in the expectation that her love and tenderness would soften him. Without any of the spirit of prophecy, but from a mere review of man to be ruled." Possibly this hatching of goslings in ashes may have had reference to some experiments or experiments of More, who may have learned in Herodotus the process of the ancient Egyptians, and who says, in his Utopian romance, that the Utopians hatch their poultry by means of a gentle artificial heat.

Mistress Alice, however, had many good qualities, and whose temper could not be ruffled, seems to have been happily with her.

of the character of the king and his court, he could easily foretell the fate that awaited the fair cause of all his misfortunes. On one occasion he asked Margaret Roper how it fared with Queen Anne? "In faith, father," said she, "never better." "Never better, Meg," quoth he; "alas! Meg, it pityeth me to remember into what misery, poor soul, she shall shortly come!" On the 2nd or 3rd of May, 1535, when he had been more than a year in his foul and hungry prison, he was visited by Cromwell, the attorney and solicitor-general, and certain civilians, who urged him to recognise the statute which made the king supreme head of the church. More replied, "I am the king's true and faithful subject and daily beadsman. I pray for his highness, and all his, and all the realm. I do nobody harm, I say no harm, I think none harm, and wish everybody good; and if this be not enough to keep a man alive, in good faith, I long not to live. I am dying already, and since I came here have been divers time in the cases that I thought to die within one hour. And I thank our Lord I was never sorry for it, but rather sorry when I saw the pang past; and therefore my poor body is at the king's pleasure. Would to God my death might do him good."* This fruitless visit was followed by another in a few days.



he king might be induced to rest satisfied with his engagement to maintain the succession as voted in parliament.* Bishop Fisher, who had been visited and comforted as his illustrious friend, had given nearly the same answers and had offered to take the same oath. But more than this Fisher would not do. The king's letter produced no effect.

On the 6th of May Sir Thomas was brought out of prison, led on foot through the crowded streets to Westminster Hall, and there arraigned of high treason. He was clad in a coarse woollen gown, and bore about him many evidences of a rigorous confinement: his face had become white, his beard very long and matted, he was pale and emaciated, and he was obliged to support himself on his staff. But the mind was much unshaken and bent, and some of his old wit and vivacity shone up his sunken eye; and his vile judges—the remorseless instruments of a despot—shrank from his presence, and dreaded the sympathy which the mere sight of the man created. These judges were the Lord Chancellor Audley, the chief justice, six puisne judges, and the Duke of Norfolk. They attempted to overpower the prisoner with the length and wordiness of his indictment. But, after declining an offer of pardon on condition of doing the king's will, More entered a clear and eloquent defence, stripping the clauses of their verbiage and false coverings, and exposing them in their nakedness and nothingness. He maintained that neither by word nor by deed had he done anything against the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn; he had, however, in his conscience, disapproved of that business, and had never expressed this disapprobation to any person but the king, who had commanded him on pain of obedience to give his real opinion. He said "that it could never be treason for one of the king's advisers to give him honest advice." As to his having sought to deprive the king of his new title of supreme head of the Church, he said that all that he had done was to be silent on the subject, and that silence was not treason. Robin Rich,

* State Papers.

the infamous solicitor-general, who had tried to entrap More by professing great friendship to him while in the Tower, and leading him into familiar and confidential discourse, now said that the prisoner's silence was malicious. To this More replied that "he had a right to be silent where his language was likely to be injuriously misconstrued." As to the charge that he had called the act of settlement "a two-edged sword which would destroy his soul if he complied in it, and his body if he refused," he made answer that "he supposed the reason of his refusal to be equally good, whether the question led to an offence against his conscience or to the necessity of criminating himself." The prosecutors were reduced to the necessity of examining one of their own number. Rich, who was soon afterwards created a peer for these and similar services, stood up and said that he had gone to More in the Tower as to a friend, and had asked him whether an act of parliament could not make a pope as well as a king;—that More had answered another question affirmatively, but had evaded the question about the pope. Rich then went on to swear that Sir Thomas had said in the most decided manner that the parliament could not make the king supreme head of the church, because parliament is a civil tribunal without



that were there spoken. But the judges who had been appointed to condemn and sentence, and who were kept in mind of their duty by the Duke of Norfolk, who sat with them, and by other great men who were sent into court by the king, laid it down as good law that silence *was* treason; and a jury of twelve Englishmen, without any hesitation, returned a verdict of guilty.* Audley, the chancellor, who was at the head of this iniquitous court, or special commission, was for pronouncing sentence at once, but More claimed the common and legal privilege of being heard, to show that judgment should not be passed. When he was allowed to speak, More urged that his scruples of conscience were at least sufficient to free his refusal to take the oaths from the imputation of disaffection, or of what the law calls malice. The chancellor, who was a very impatient listener, asked him again, as the prisoner had often been asked before, how he could set up his scruples against the weight of the parliament, people, and church of England. "Would you," said Audley, "be esteemed wiser or of purer conscience than all the bishops, doctors, nobility, and commons in this land?" More replied, as he had always done, that if the weight of authority was to be thrown into the balance, it was all on his side. "Nine out of ten of Christians now in the world think with me," said he: "for one bishop on your side, I can produce a hundred bishops on mine. Nearly all the learned doctors and holy fathers, who are now dead, agree with me: and, therefore, I think myself not bound to conform my conscience to the council of one realm against the general consent of all Christendom." The chancellor pronounced the frightful and disgusting doom which the statute awarded to treason. When this sentence had been pronounced, More rose to address the court: he was

* These twelve jurymen seem to have been nearly all of superior condition. They were Sir T. Palmer, Sir T. Bent, G. Lovell, esquire, Thomas Burbage, esquire, G. Chamber, gentleman, Edward Stockmore, William Brown, Jasper Leake, Thomas Bellington, John Parnell, Richard Bellamy, and G. Stoakes, gentleman.

coarsely interrupted. He tried again, and was again interrupted; but on a third attempt he was allowed to proceed. He told them that what he had hitherto been silent upon he would now openly declare; and he did boldly declare that the oath of supremacy was utterly unlawful, and that after seven years' diligent study "he could find no colour for holding that a layman could be head of the church." He regretted to differ from the noble lords whom he saw on the bench, but his conscience would not permit him to do otherwise. He protested that he had no animosity against them, and that he hoped that, even as St. Paul was present and consentient to the death of Stephen, and yet was afterwards a companion saint in heaven, so they and he should all meet together hereafter. "And so," he concluded, "may God preserve you all, and especially my lord the king, and send him good counsel!" As he moved from the bar, his son rushed through the hall, fell upon his knees, and begged his blessing. With the axe turned towards him, and with Sir W. Kingston, the constable of the Tower, weeping at his side, he went back to his dark prison, amid the great wonderment and commiseration of the citizens. On the Tower wharf his dear daughter Margaret forced her way through the officers



More were universally esteemed the most learned men in the country, and as they were the only two that had as yet refused the oaths, it was deemed expedient to make further experiments on their constancy. On the 14th of June interrogatories were separately administered to them in the Tower by Mr. Bedle, Dr. Aldridge, Dr. Layton, and Dr. Curwen, in the presence of Pelstede, Whalley, and Rice. Among the objects proposed to themselves by the inquisitors were these:—to entrap the prisoners into some confession that they had had communications, since their coming to the Tower, with people who shared in their scruples—to lead More to make use of words that might be turned against Fisher at his approaching trial. The inquisitors were completely disappointed; nothing was to be gotten from More, and Fisher was equally firm. To some of the interrogatories he replied that he would promise obedience, “saving always his conscience: to others he would not speak, desiring that he might not be driven to answer, lest he should fall thereby into the dangers of the statutes.* Three days after these inquisitorial proceedings, Fisher was put upon his trial in Westminster Hall: as a matter of course he was condemned as a traitor, and on the 22nd of June he was dragged out of the Tower to execution. Fisher was in his eightieth year; he was the king’s oldest friend. More was left to linger in his dungeon another fortnight. His wit flashed brightly in his last moments. When told that the king had been graciously pleased to commute the hanging, drawing, and quartering into simple decapitation, he said, “God preserve all my friends from such royal favours.” On Tuesday, the 6th of July, the eve of St. Thomas, 1535, “his singular good friend” Sir Thomas Pope went to him very early with a message from the king and council to signify that he was to die before nine o’clock that morning. The time and the messenger appear to have been selected in cruel mockery by Henry and his creatures, who were much given to this kind of sport. Pope told him that “it

* *State Papers*, published by government.

Paolo Giovio, and other popular authors, recorded the crime, and awakened throughout Europe a hatred and detestation of the tyrant who had consummated it. Wherever Henry had ambassadors, men shunned them as the agents and slaves of a monster. The Emperor Charles V. said that if he had had such a servant as More, he would rather have lost the best city in his dominions than so able and worthy a counsellor. Nor did Charles's rival Francis I. feel a less lively emotion.

More's English writings were collected and printed in the year 1557, at the instance of Queen Mary. The Life written by Roper, the husband of his darling daughter Margaret, was not then ready for the press, and after the death of Mary (in 1558) none durst publish it in England. In fact, this exquisite and thoroughly authentic piece of biography, though copies of it seem to have been known in MS., did not appear in print until the year 1626, in the reign of Charles I., and even then it was printed at Paris. It is a small 18mo. volume, and entitled 'The Mirrour of Vertue in worldly Greatness, or the Life of Sir Thomas More, Knight, sometime Lord Chancellor of England.' It is an exceedingly rare book. Mr. Singer, who edited and reprinted it in 1817, knew at that time of no copy except the one in his possession. There is a



THE

GINNET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

BRITISH WORTHIES.

VOLUME III.

L O N D O N :

WILLIAMS KNIGHT & CO., LUDGATE STREET.

1845.







CABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

BRITISH WORTHIES,



It sometimes happens that a remarkable man has a very commonplace history; sometimes that a man whose life has been full of strange events has been a person of a very commonplace character: in the present instance the man and his fortunes were alike extraordinary. The life in all its parts has the colour of a legend or romance; both his rise and his fall were rocket-like; but he was either carried so rapidly to so great a height solely by the force of circumstances, nor would he perhaps have been thrown down as he was but in some degree through *at same irrepressibility*, and, as we may say, brilliant

VOL. III. **B**

wildness of nature which had helped him to mount so far above his original condition.

Thomas Cromwell, best known, both in his own day and in our national history, by his first title of nobility, the Lord Cromwell, was born in or near the village of Putney, in Surrey, where his father, Walter Cromwell, it is commonly said, followed the trade first of a blacksmith, afterwards of a brewer; but, according to another account, was a fuller, though that version of the story may possibly have arisen from the circumstance of his mother after his father's death, which appears to have happened when her son was a boy, marrying a London shearman, or cloth-shearer. The date of his birth is not recorded, but it was probably about the year 1490.

Of his other relations we only know that he had a sister who married Morgan Williams, a gentleman of an ancient Welsh family, whose son, changing his name to that of his uncle and patron, became Sir Richard Cromwell, and was the grandfather of Oliver Cromwell the Protector. From this marriage of Thomas Cromwell's sister, which must have taken place before her brother became a great man, since his nephew, Richard Williams, or Cromwell, was then of mature age, and from other considerations which he advances, Noble, the author of



suppose that Mr. Walter Cromwell, the brewer of Putney, died rich, as there is the highest probability he did not die poor, there can be no reason assigned why his daughter should be thought an improper match for Mr. Morgan Williams, a Welsh gentleman of an estate of three or four hundred a year, when Mr. Morgan Williams's son and grandson, two of the richest knights and private subjects in the kingdom, married, the one the daughter of a skinner, and the other that of a mercer, or at least of those companies. Lady Ann Bolen, or Bullen, and Lady Jane Seymour, two of the many wives of King Henry VIII., were descended from tradesmen of London." On the whole, then, we may conclude Walter Cromwell of Putney to have been no common blacksmith, wielding his hammer and shoeing horses with his own hands, but a master tradesman, probably employing many workmen, and prospering so as to be eventually enabled to set up as what we may call a capitalist, and the head of what was more of the nature of a commercial establishment than a trade. His widow, too, in this case, may have made a good second marriage, and the sheerman may have been a merchant, not, as is commonly assumed, a mechanic. Noble supposes that Morgan Williams, whose father was employed by Jasper Tudor, Duke of Bedford, uncle to King Henry VII., and also by King Henry VIII., may have made the acquaintance of Miss Cromwell, living with her mother in London, when he and his father came up to give their attendance at court. This connexion among the three families of Cromwell, Williams, and Tudor—the history of each of which is so remarkable—merits the more attention, that it has not been usually noticed. We shall find that the marriage of his sister was not Cromwell's only alliance with the Williamses.

Young Cromwell does not appear to have received what can be called a learned education; but it is admitted that, besides the more ordinary branches, he was taught a little Latin at school; and this may give additional probability to what has been said about his father not having been a mere common blacksmith. The popular

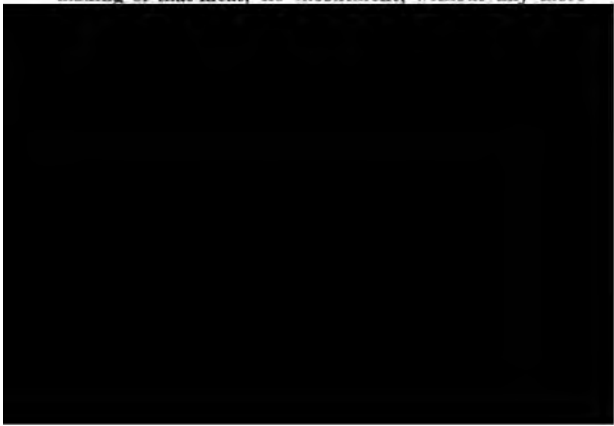
tradition of the next age, indeed, appears to have represented him as having been a bookish boy, filled and inflamed with many sublime and mysterious studies. There is an old play, called 'The Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell,' first published, as far as is known, in 1602, but perhaps written a good many years before that date, in the opening scene of which one of his father's men is introduced complaining that he can hardly take his afternoon's nap for young Master Thomas, who, says he, "keeps such a coil in his study, with the sun and the moon and the seven stars, that I do verily think he'll read out his wits." And then the youth himself is brought forward soliloquizing, after the fashion of a juvenile Faustus :—

" Good morrow, morn, I do salute thy brightness.
The night seems tedious to my troubled soul ;
Whose black obscurity binds in my mind
A thousand sundry cogitations.
And now Aurora with a lively dye
Adds comfort to my spirit, that mounts on high ;
Too high, indeed, my state being so mean.
My study, like a mineral of gold,
Makes my heart proud, wherein my hope's enrolled ;
My books are all the wealth I do possess,



within the bounds of his native country, he set out before he had yet taken to any occupation by which he might earn his bread for the continent; that after rambling over France, Germany, and Italy, and acquiring the languages of all these countries, he was engaged as their chief clerk or secretary by the English factory, or body of resident English merchants, at Antwerp; and that he remained in that situation till about the year 1510, when he embraced an opportunity that offered of accompanying two of his countrymen on a mission to the papal court. The case was this, as related by Fox in his 'Acts and Monuments':—The town of Boston, desiring to have a renewal from the pope, Julius the Second, of certain privileges, called the great and the lesser pardons, which had been repeatedly confirmed by his holiness's predecessors, despatched two persons for that purpose, who, coming to Antwerp on their way, there fell into company with Cromwell, and, probably struck by his evident capacity, while they had great doubts of the sufficiency of their own qualifications for the important business that had been intrusted to them, proposed that he should become their associate. The sequel is curious, as told by the old martyrologist, who, it may be observed, does not much relish such an introduction of his hero to public life:—"Cromwell, although perceiving the enterprise to be of no small difficulty, to traverse the pope's court, for the unreasonable expenses amongst those greedy cormorants, yet, having some skill of the Italian tongue, and as yet not grounded in judgment of religion in those his youthful days, was at length obtained and content to give the adventure, and so took his journey towards Rome. Cromwell, loth to spend much time, and more loth to spend his money, and again perceiving that the pope's greedy humour must needs be served with some present or other (for without rewards there is no doing at Rome) began to cast with himself what thing best to devise wherein he might best serve the pope's devotion. At length, having knowledge how that the pope's holy tooth greatly delighted in new-fangled strange delicacies and dainty dishes, it

came in his mind to prepare certain fine dishes of jelly, after the best fashion, made after our country manner here in England, which to them of Rome was not known nor seen before. This done, Cromwell observing his time accordingly, as the pope was newly come from hunting into his pavilion, he with his companions approached with his English presents, brought in with a three-man's song (as we call it) in the English tongue, and all after the English fashion. The pope suddenly marvelled at the strangeness of the song, and, understanding that they were Englishmen, and that they came not empty-handed, willed them to be called in. Cromwell then showing his obedience, and offering his jolly junkets, such as kings and princes only, said he, in the realm of England use to feed upon, desired the same to be accepted in benevolent part, which he and his companions, as poor suitors unto his holiness, had there brought and presented, as novelties meet for his recreation, &c. Pope Julius, seeing the strangeness of the dishes, commanded by and by his cardinal to take the assay, who in tasting thereof liked it so well, and so likewise the pope after him, that, knowing of them what their suits were, and requiring of them to make known the making of that meat, he incontinent, without any more



that city after a stay of only a few months, goes "All this while it appeareth that Cromwell had sound taste nor judgment of religion, but was wild and foolish, without sense or regard of God and his as he himself was wont oft times to declare unto the Archbishop of Canterbury, showing what a ruffian he was in his young days, and how he was in the service of the Duke of Bourbon at the siege of Rome He continued, till at length by learning the text of the New Testament without book, of Erasmus's translation his going and coming from Rome (as is aforesaid) began to be touched and called to better understanding."

But the famous sack of Rome by the Duke of Bourbon took place, as is well known, in May, 1527; there are events which were seventeen years apart connected together as if they had happened in the same year.

From the rest of Fox's narrative it is evident that he was entirely ignorant or thoughtless of the date of the sack of Rome, at which he states Cromwell to have been present; for he brings him back to England many years before it actually occurred. But the story is told in a way equally unintelligible in an elaborate notice in the 'Biographia Britannica,' where, after mentioning his journey to Rome in 1510, the narrative proceeds:—"Whilst he remained in Italy, he served for some time as a soldier under the Duke of Bourbon, and at the sacking of Rome; and at Bologna he assisted Russell, Esq., afterwards Earl of Bedford, in making his escape when he had like to be betrayed into the hands of the French, being secretly in those parts about the king's affairs." And then comes the anecdote about Cromwell getting the translation of the New Testament by

"in his journey to and from Rome." Dr. Linnæus, who seems to have consulted Roman Catholic authorities, affirms generally that Cromwell "in his youth served as a trooper in the wars of Italy; then he passed to the service of a Venetian gentleman; and, after some time, returning to England, he engaged the counter for the study of the law." As

for his assisting the Earl of Bedford to make his escape from Bologna, the mere fact is mentioned by Fox, but without any date. For the particular stratagem which he is said to have employed the reader may be referred to the old play, in which this incident makes a principal figure. Noble, in his 'Memoirs of the Protectoral House,' makes it to have happened after the sack of Rome, when Cromwell had been "involved in great distress upon the defeat of that army which had pillaged the holy city," and been "relieved by a generous Italian of the name of Friscobaldo," and when Russell, who was not yet ennobled, was about to be sent a prisoner to France, "because employed in some secret service by King Henry VIII. against the see of Rome."

But, on the whole, it seems in the highest degree improbable that Cromwell remained in Italy to so late a date as he must have done if he was really present at the sack of Rome by the Duke of Bourbon. Dr. Lingard states that after his return to England Wolsey "employed him to dissolve the monasteries which had been granted for the establishment of his colleges, a trust which he discharged to the satisfaction of his patron, at the same time that he enriched himself." Now it was in 1524 and 1525, that



This is a strange misstatement as to Sir Thomas More, who never was in Wolsey's household at any time of his life.

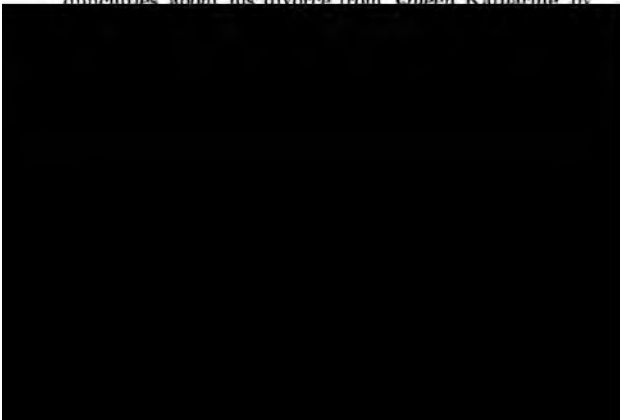
But here we meet with another difficulty, which the common accounts of Cromwell do not attempt to clear up, and do not even notice. So far from having remained abroad in Italy even till 1524, he had in all probability returned to his native country at least seven or eight years before that date—for he must have been married, and to an English lady of good connexions, at the latest by the year 1517, seeing that his son Gregory was summoned to the House of Lords in April, 1539, and must therefore have been born in or before 1518. The lady that Cromwell married, was Jane (or, according to other accounts, Elizabeth), daughter and heir of Sir John Prior, Knight, and widow of Thomas Williams, Esq., a Welsh gentleman, of the same family with the Morgan Williams who, probably before this, married Cromwell's sister.

From all these facts we should be disposed to conclude that Cromwell returned home from the continent about 1516. And we may now observe, as further illustrative of the dependence to be placed on old Fox even in regard to matters with which it might be thought he ought to be best acquainted, that it was not till this year that Cromwell could possibly have got Erasmus's New Testament by heart, inasmuch as it was only now first published. He was probably still abroad when he met with the book; and the story told by Fox will accord very well with all the ascertained facts, if we suppose the task he is said to have accomplished to have been performed on his way home to England about this time. The anecdote may be taken as a remarkable evidence, not only of Cromwell's powers of memory, but of the enthusiasm inspired by Erasmus's translation when it first appeared.

Some time after he was taken into the employment of Wolsey, who, we are told, made him his solicitor, Cromwell is stated to have obtained a seat in the House of Commons; and it is recorded to his honour that, when *the articles charging the Cardinal with high treason*

were sent down to that House, he defended his master there with great wit and eloquence; "and upon this honest beginning," says Lord Herbert, in his History of the Reign of Henry VIII., "Cromwell obtained his first reputation." It is stated on good authority that he had at this time made himself very generally odious by the zeal and energy with which he served his unpopular patron: Cardinal Pole asserts from his own knowledge, that, at the time of Wolsey's fall, Cromwell's punishment was also loudly demanded by the public voice: "I was myself then in London," writes Pole, "and heard what was said: there was nothing that the people looked for more eagerly." Dr. Lingard's account is, that "he followed Wolsey to Esher; but, despairing of the fortune of the fallen favourite, hastened to Court, purchased with presents the protection of the ministers, and was confirmed in that office under the king which he had before held under the Cardinal, the stewardship of the lands of the dissolved monasteries."

It must have been almost immediately after this, in the end of the year 1530, or early in 1531, that he secured the royal notice and favour by boldly proposing to Henry, as is affirmed, to rid himself at once of all the difficulties about his divorce from Queen Katharine by

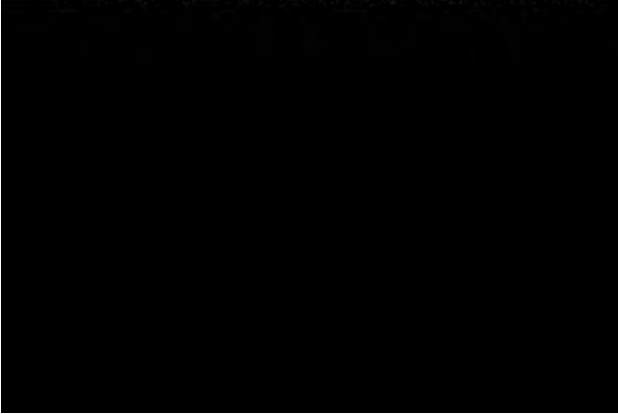


cession of offices to nearly all of the supreme authority that could be conveyed to a subject. In 1531 he was knighted, admitted of the Privy Council, and made Master of the Jewel-House; in 1532 he was appointed Clerk of the Hanaper, and soon after Chancellor of the Exchequer for life; in 1534 he was raised to the posts of Master of the Rolls, and Principal Secretary of State; in 1535 he was commissioned to superintend the general suppression of the monasteries with the title of Visitor General; in 1536 he exchanged his place of Master of the Rolls for that of Lord Privy Seal, and a few days after was made a peer, with the title of Lord Cromwell of Okeham; the same year he was constituted Vicar General and Vicegerent over all the spirituality, under the King, and in that capacity took his seat in the convocation, as the King's representative, above both archbishops; in 1537 he was made Chief Justice Itinerant beyond Trent, and a Knight of the Garter; in 1538 he was made Constable of Carisbrook Castle, and received a grant of the Castle and Lordship of Okeham in Rutlandshire; in 1539 he was enriched by grants of thirty other manors which had belonged to the dissolved religious houses, and was advanced to the dignity of Earl of Essex (the oldest of the then existing English earldoms), his son being at the same time called to the House of Lords by his father's former title; and shortly after his ambition was still farther gratified by having conferred upon him the office of Lord High Chamberlain of England, which had for a long succession of generations been held by the De Veres, Earls of Oxford, one of the most distinguished families of the ancient peerage.

During nearly all this time, too, he may be considered, as we have said, to have been really the ruler of the kingdom. And the most interesting part of his story is the manner in which he used his supreme power.

He was, in the first place, beyond all question a most zealous, active, and efficient promoter of the Reformation in religion. *With that cause, indeed, his personal interests were intimately and inseparably involved; but there*

is every reason to believe that his honest convictions of right and truth were also strongly enlisted on the same side. The popish writers have attributed to him the most flagitious principles, or rather have denied him the possession of any principles of either religion or morals; but their general denunciations are discountenanced by all that we really know of the man and of his life. He may have been, and probably was, both ambitious and rapacious—fond of power, as strong and ardent minds are apt to be, in all its forms; his daring and enthusiastic temperament may have even made him sometimes unscrupulous enough, and reckless of everything except the object of the moment; but it does not follow that he must have been a bad man, or without good and high qualities. He appears to have been on the whole conscientious, at least in so far as regarded the ends he had in view, although not always very particular as to his means. But the latter characteristic belongs more or less to all the more aspiring spirits of that time. The objects for which men then contended against one another appeared to be of such infinite importance as to justify their attainment in any way. Besides, the regular dominion of law had not yet been established; society was still in a convulsed and semi-chaotic state; even in civil life, to a



ere about to have a conflict in the public street. appened," says the historian, "that, as this desperate skirmish should begin, the Lord Cromwell, coming the court through Paul's Churchyard, and entering Cheap, had intelligence of the great fray toward, because of the carts he could not come at them, but forced to go about the Little Conduit, and so came them through Pannier Alley. Thus, as the conflict to wax hot, and the people were standing by in expectation to see them fight, suddenly, at the of the Lord Cromwell's coming, the camp brake and the ruffians to go; neither could the carts keep use so courageous campers, but well was he that could be gone. And so ceased this tumultuous out-without any other parting, only through the authority of the Lord Cromwell's name." Then follows an-story, which he tells with immense gusto, "con-g a certain serving-man," as he expresses it, "of ce ruffianly order, who, thinking to dis sever him-om the common usage of all other men in strange ugliness of fashions by himself (as many there be nothing doth please which is daily seen and re-), used to go with his hair hanging about his ears unto his shoulders, after a strange monstrous man-counterfeiting, belike, the wild Irishmen, or else s *Ioppas*, which Virgil speaketh of, as one weary own English fashion; or else, as one ashamed to n like a man, would rather go like a woman, or one of the Gorgon sisters, but most of all like to f, that is, like to a ruffian, that could not tell how " After this eloquent exordium, the narrative ds:—"As this ruffian, ruffling thus with his locks, alking in the streets, as chance was, who should him but the Lord Cromwell, who, beholding the and unseemly manner of his disguised going, full ch vanity and hurtful example, called the man to on with him whose servant he was; which being ed, then was demanded whether his maister or any fellows used so to go with such hair about their ers as he did, or no? Which when he denied,

and was not able to yield any reason for refuge of that his monstrous disguising, at length he fell to this excuse, that he had made a vow. To this the Lord Cromwell answered again, that, for so much as he had made himself a votary, he would not force him to break his vow ; but, until his vow should be expired, he should lie the mean time in prison ; and so sent him immediately to the Marshalsea, where he endured till at length this *intonsus Cato*, being persuaded by his maister to cut his hair, by suit and petition of friends he was brought again to the Lord Cromwell with his head polled according to the accustomed sort of his other fellows, and so was dismissed." We cannot help adding the curious and characteristic comment with which the old martyrologist concludes : the passage is one which should not be overlooked by the investigators of the history of English costume :—" If," says he, " the same Lord Cromwell, which could not abide this serving-man so disfigured in his hair, were now in these our days alive, with the same authority which then he had, and saw these new-fangle fashions of attire used here amongst us both of men and women, I suppose verily that neither these monstrous ruffs, nor these prodigious hose, and prodigal, or rather hyperbolical barbarous breeches (which seem rather like barrels



ordering and guiding of good laws, do not provide more severely for the needful reformation of these enormities. But here we may well see, and truly this may say, that England once had a Cromwell."

Another of Fox's stories, entitled "How Cromwell help a poor woman with child out of great trouble, longing for a piece of meat in time of Lent," is much too long to be given in full. It begins—"In the year of our Lord, 1538, Sir William Forman being mayor of the city of London, three weeks before Easter, the wife of one Thomas Freebairn, dwelling in Paternoster Row, being with child, longed after a morsel of a pig, and told her mind unto a maid dwelling in Abchurch Lane, desiring her, if it were possible, to help her unto a piece. The maid, perceiving her earnest desire, shewed unto her husband what his wife had said unto her, telling him that it might chance to cost her her life, and the child's too which she went withall, if she had it not. Upon this, Thomas Freebairn, her husband, spake to a butterwife which he knew, that dwelled at Hornsey, named Goodwife Fisher, to help him to a pig for his wife, for she was with child, and longed sore to eat of a pig. Unto whom the said Goodwife Fisher promised that she would bring him one the Friday following; and so she did, being ready dressed and scalded before. But, when she had delivered him the pig, she craftily conveyed one of the pig's feet, and carried it unto Doctor Cockes, at that time being Dean of Canterbury, dwelling in Ivy Lane, who, at that time of his dinner, before certain guests which he had bidden, shewed his pig's foot, declaring who had the body thereof; and, after that they had talked their pleasure and dinner was done, one of his guests, being landlord unto Freebairn aforesaid, called M. Garter, and by his office King of Arms, sent his man unto the said Freebairn, demanding if there were nobody sick in his house. Unto whom he answered that they were all in good health, he gave God thanks. Then said he again, it was told his maister that *somebody was sick, or else they would not eat flesh in Lent.* Unto whom Freebairn made answer, that his

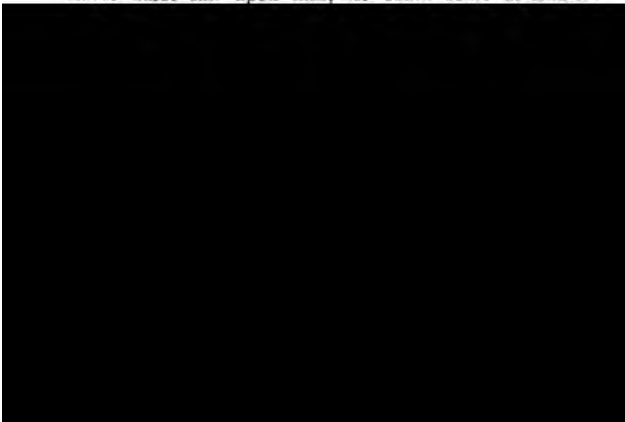
wife was with child, and longed for a piece of a pig, and if he could get some for her he would. Then departed his landlord's man home again." There are nearly two long columns more about this affair, or about as much as would fill four or five of our pages. Freebairn, having been first brought before the bishop, Stokesley, was, after examination, sent by him along with the pig openly through the streets to the house of Sir Roger Chomley, the recorder, in the Old Bailey; the recorder not being at home, he was lodged for the night in the Compter; the next day, which was Saturday, he was brought before the mayor and his brethren in Guildhall, and by them he was sentenced to stand on the following Monday on the pillory in Cheapside, "with the one half of the pig on the one shoulder, and the other half on the other." "Then," continues the account, "spake the wife of the said Freebairn unto the mayor and the bench, desiring that she might stand there, and not he, for it was long of her and not of him. After this they took a satin list, and tied it fast about the pig's neck, and made Freebairn to carry it hanging on his shoulder until he came unto the Compter of the Poultry, from whence he came." Freebairn's wife then applied to Cromwell, taking with her "an honest woman, the wife of one



which he erected in the earlier portion of his career of court favour, when he was as yet only Sir Thomas Cromwell, and Master of the Jewel-House. Yet even then some parts of his procedure, at least, were sufficiently energetic and summary, if we may credit an anecdote recorded by Stow. "This house," writes the antiquary in his 'Survey of London,' "being finished, and having some reasonable plot of ground left for a garden, he caused the pales of the gardens adjoining to the north part thereof on a sudden to be taken down, twenty-two foot to be measured forthright into the north of every man's ground, a line there to be drawn, a trench to be cast, a foundation laid, and an high brick wall to be builded. My father had a garden there, and there was a house standing close to his south pale: this house they loosed from the ground, and bare upon rollers into my father's garden twenty-two foot ere my father heard thereof: no warning was given him, nor other answer, when he spake to the surveyors of that work, but that their master, Sir Thomas, commanded them so to do: no man durst go to argue the matter, but each man lost his land; and my father paid his whole rent, which was six shillings eight-pence the year, for that half which was left. Thus much of mine own knowledge have I thought good to note, that the sudden rising of some men causeth them to forget themselves." This way which Cromwell took of clearing a space about him may be regarded as in keeping with his profession of a levelling reformer, and with his practice as the puller down of monastic establishments and the blower up of old supremacies.

But in one important respect, at any rate, Cromwell did not, after his elevation, forget himself. The old accounts bear the strongest testimony to his grateful remembrance and recognition in the height of his greatness of every person that had done him a service or a kindness in his days of obscurity and poverty. The old play makes this a prominent part of his character. Fox has various stories in proof of the same thing. "It is commonly seen," he observes, "that men advanced once

from base degree to ample dignities do rise also with fortune into such insolency and exaltation of mind, that not only they forget themselves what they were, but also cast out of remembrance all their old friends and former acquaintance which have been to them before beneficial. From which sort of men how far the courteous condition of this Christian earl did differ, by divers examples it may appear. As, by a certain poor woman keeping some time a victualling house about Hounslow, to whom the said Lord Cromwell remained in debt for certain old reckonings to the sum of forty shillings. It happened that the Lord Cromwell, with Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, riding through Cheapside, towards the Court, in turning his eye over the way, and there espying this poor woman brought now in need and misery, eftsoons caused her to be called unto him: who being come, after certain questions asked of her if she were not such a woman, and dwelling in such a place, at last, he demanded if he were not behind for a certain payment of money between him and her. To whom she, with reverent obeisance, confessed that he ought her money for a certain old reckoning which was yet unpaid, whereof she stood now in great necessity, but never durst call upon him, nor could come at him for

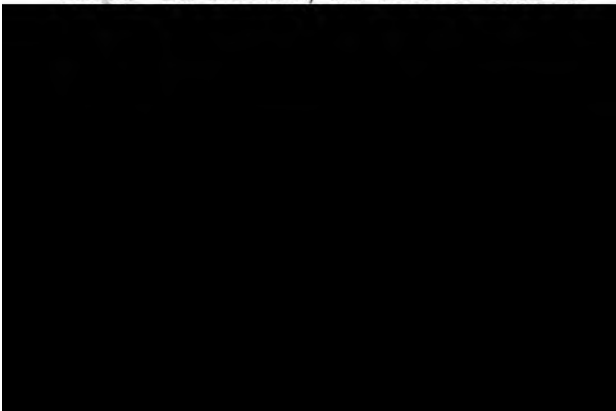


Sheen, now Richmond, along with other lords of the council with whom he had come thither to examine certain monks charged with having denied the royal supremacy, "it chanced him," Fox tells us, "to spy afar off a certain poor man, which there served to sweep their cells and cloister, and to ring the bells. Whom, when the Lord Cromwell had well advised,* he sent for the poor man to come unto him, and, before all the table, most lovingly and friendly calling him by his name, took him by the hand and asked how he did, with many other good words; and turning therewith to the lords, 'My lords,' quoth he, 'see you this poor man? This man's father hath been a great friend to me in my necessity, and hath given me many a meal's meat.' Then said he unto the poor man, 'Come unto me, and I will provide for thee, and thou shalt not lack so long as I live.' Such as there were present, and saw and heard the same, report it to be true." The existence of such stories is at all events an evidence of the popular impression of what manner of man Cromwell was; nor is their probability contradicted by any thing that we really know of his conduct and character; with all his thorough-going and high-handed mode of proceeding when he had an object to compass upon which he had set his heart, there is every reason to believe that he was a high-spirited and kind-hearted as well as a resolute and very able man.

But the most famous of all the stories told of his remembrance of his old friends in his new estate, is that of the Florentine merchant Francesco Frescobaldo. It makes a principal figure in the old play, where the Italian, there called Friskyball, is one of the leading *dramatis personæ*, and his connexion with Cromwell a main part of the plot. It was probably first told by the Italian novelist Bandello, from whose book, which he refers to by the grave title of *Historia Italica*, Fox has translated it. The substance of it is, that Frescobaldo, who had frequently visited and resided in England, was one day in Florence applied to for alms by a young

* Considered.

Englishman, whom, partly for the sake of his country, partly from being taken by his engaging appearance and manners, he relieved with great liberality ; that the generous Italian afterwards met with misfortunes and lost nearly all he had in the world ; that he then came over to London in the hope of recovering some old debts due to him in this country ; and that he was accidentally seen in the street by Cromwell, now the greatest man in England, who instantly alighted from his horse, took the stranger in his arms to the man's infinite amazement, declared that he was the poor young Englishman to whom Frescobaldo, who could hardly be brought to remember the incident, had shown so bountiful a heart and hand many long years ago ; and, taking him to his house, there installed him as his chief friend, and by his influence and authority soon compelled all his debtors to pay him to the uttermost farthing. " And during all this time," concludes the story, " Frescobald continually lodged in the house of the Lord Cromwell, who ever gave him such entertainment as he had right well deserved, and oftentimes moved him to abide in England, offering him the loan of 60,000 ducats for the space of four years, if he would continue and make his bank in London. But Frescobald, who desired to return into



f the policy by which he had thus made a protégé of his own the wife of his sovereign, proved his

Other minor causes concurred in strengthening the storm that overtook him; but it was the fault on Henry's part by which this marriage was immediately followed that lost him the royal favour, and led him to destruction. So sagacious a man had not been deterred by occasional apprehensions that the airy fabric of his fortunes might some time or other be blown down more suddenly than it had arisen; but the catastrophe came at last with an instantaneousness for which he probably had not been prepared. On the morning of the 10th of June, 1540, he appeared in his place in the House of Lords as usual; at three o'clock in the afternoon he was arrested by the Duke of Norfolk, as he sat at the council table, on a charge of high treason.

Particular acts of which he was accused were acts of excess in the exercise of his various high powers, of some of which he was no doubt guilty; he was besides reproached with having protected heretics and heretical opinions, which there is no question that he had also done to a considerable extent; but when it was affirmed on one occasion he had declared his readiness to thrust a dagger into the heart of any man who should oppose the Reformation, were it the king himself, it is probable that words were imputed to him which he had never used. The means, or pretences, however, were of little consequence; his destruction, in whatever way it might be brought about, was resolved upon. The stain upon Cromwell's memory is his having

a year before his fall induced parliament to pass a bill of attainder for high treason against Margaret Pole, Countess of Salisbury (the mother of Cardinal Pole), which she was eventually executed without ever having been brought to trial. This iniquitous precedent was now applied in his own case: the bill of attainder was quickly and without difficulty carried through the Houses—no member of either, so far as is known, daring to speak in vindication of the accused, except his chief friend Cranmer, who uttered a few timid

words in his behalf on the first reading of the bill, but voted for it on the second and the third readings. He lay for about six weeks in the Tower, during which he in vain repeatedly importuned the capricious and hard-hearted tyrant whom he had so long and zealously served. "Consider," he concludes one of his letters preserved by Burnet, "that I [am] a most woeful prisoner, ready to take the death when it shall please God and your majesty; and yet the frail flesh inciteth me continually to call to your Grace for mercy and grace for mine offences. And thus Christ save, preserve, and keep you. Written at the Tower, this Wednesday the last of June, with the heavy heart and trembling hand of your Highness's most heavy and most miserable prisoner, and poor slave, THOMAS CROMWELL. Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy!" Another, which he appears to have written when he was first committed to the Tower, is in a strain still more imploring. "Most gracious king and most merciful sovereign," it begins, "Your most humble, most obeysand, and most bounden subject, and most lamentable servant and prisoner, prostrate at the feet of your most excellent majesty, have heard your pleasure by the mouth of your comptroller, that I should write to



your often most gracious, grave counsels and advertisements, then it had not been with me as now it is. Yet our Lord, if it be his will, can do with me as he did with Susan, who was falsely accused. . . . If I would not . . . willingly die for your comfort, I would I were in hell, and I would I should receive a thousand deaths." All this may not be thought very dignified ; but it seems to betray strength of conviction if not strength of character, and rather an excessive ardour of temperament than that cold Machiavelism and absence of all principle which is imputed to Cromwell by the Romish writers. He went to his death in that perplexing manner of which we have several other examples in this reign, leaving the true character and meaning of his whole life and conduct uncertain and disputable if we were to attempt to make it out only from his dying words. He was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 28th of July, and in a speech which he made on the scaffold, after thanking God for having appointed him such a death for his offences, and remarking that he had been a great traveller in the world, and, being but of a base degree, had been called to great estate, and since coming thereunto had offended his prince, for which he heartily asked him forgiveness, he added, " And now I pray you that be here to bear me record, I die in the Catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no, nor doubting in any sacrament of the Church. Many hath slandered me, and reported that I have been a bearer of such as have maintained evil opinions, which is untrue ; but I confess, that, like as God by his holy spirit doth instruct us in the truth, so the devil is ready to seduce us, and I have been seduced ; but bear me witness that I die in the Catholic faith of the Holy Church." It seems hardly possible to interpret these expressions as meaning any thing else than that he had at one time held certain heretical opinions which he now renounced ; if not this, what did he mean by saying that he had been seduced, *but* that he now died in the Catholic faith ? Nevertheless Burnet, *although he confesses* that, " by what he spoke at his death, he left it much doubted of what religion he died,"

insists that it is certain he was a Lutheran. "The Catholic faith," Burnet goes on, "used by him in his last speech, seemed to make it doubtful; but that then used in England in its true sense, in opposition to the novelties of the see of Rome . . . So that his profession of the Catholic faith was strangely perverted when some from thence concluded that he died in communion of the Church of Rome. But his prayer was in English, and that only to God through Christ, without any of those tricks that were used when that church died, showed he was none of theirs."









JOHN HOWARD, Duke of Norfolk, perished at Bosworth Field in the year 1485, bravely fighting for Richard III. Being attainted by the first parliament of Henry VII., all his great estates and property of every kind were forfeited to the crown. His son Thomas, who had been created Earl of Surrey during his father's life-time (in the year 1483, and by Richard III.), was also in the battle of Bosworth Field; and, after fighting valiantly, and being severely wounded, he was taken prisoner. The earl was also attainted; he was thrown into the Tower, and was for some time thought to be in imminent danger of losing his head. He lay in close prison more than three years, but was liberated and restored to the earldom of Surrey in 1489. He had conciliated Henry VII. by his prudent and cautious behaviour. When re-admitted at court, he rapidly rose in the good graces of the politic sovereign. His son, Lord Thomas Howard, was allowed to marry, about the year 1495, the

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Lady Anne Plantagenet, youngest daughter to Edward IV., to whom, when only a child, he had been affianced at the beginning of the reign of Richard III. By this marriage the Lord Thomas Howard had four children, who are said to have all died young. His wife, the Lady Anne, died in 1512 or 1513,* the date being uncertain, and a very short time after her decease the Lord Thomas married the Lady Elizabeth, daughter to Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham, the son and successor of the unfortunate duke of that name who was beheaded for insurrection and treason in the time of Richard III. When he so hurriedly contracted this second marriage, the Lord Thomas was forty years old, the bride scarcely fifteen. But there was another circumstance which cast a gloom over this hurried marriage: the Lady Elizabeth was tenderly attached to the young Earl of Westmoreland, and was on the point of being married to him when the richer and far more powerful Howard demanded her hand, and induced her weak father to break off the previous match. From this marriage proceeded Henry, the eldest son (the poet, and the subject of the present memoir), Thomas, who afterwards became Viscount Bindon, and Mary, who married Henry Fitzroy duke of Richmond.



prosper under Henry VII., and was repeatedly employed in cases of emergency by that king, to whose despotic and rapacious system of government he was exceedingly submissive. On the accession of Henry VIII. he continued in favour at court; and in February 1514, as a reward for his great victory obtained over the Scots at Flodden Field, in September, 1513, he was created Duke of Norfolk, his son Thomas, the father of the poet, being at the same time created Earl of Surrey. This duke had the good fortune to die in his bed in 1524, before Henry VIII. plunged into blood. He had been lord high treasurer as well as earl marshal. On his decease the father of the poet succeeded to the dukedom and to the high offices which his father had held. When the tyranny began, he, as much as any great man living, flattered the tyrant and aided him in his deeds. The date of the poet's birth is not known. It is said to have been in 1515 or 1516, or two or three years after the battle of Flodden Field. But others assign a still more recent and less probable date; and this difference, which exists even among professed heralds and genealogists, is a pretty convincing proof that the date is very doubtful and uncertain. Doubts are also entertained as to the place of his birth; but the probability is, that he was born at Framlingham Castle, in Suffolk. Nearly at the same time (or, as we are disposed to believe, somewhat later), that he came into the world, which he afterwards described as a place which

“ But serves us for a stage to play
Our tragedies upon,”

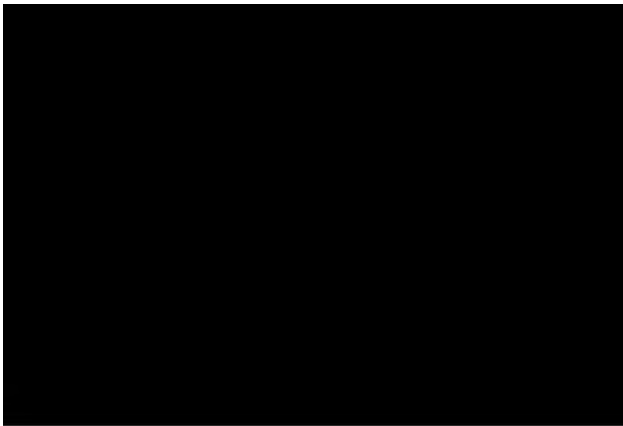
was born that Henry Fitzroy and natural son of Henry VIII. who subsequently became the poet's brother-in-law. According to several concurrent traditions, the two boys were educated and brought up together, and thus contracted a friendship which lasted till death. A minute search into documents seems to prove that they *could not have lived much together until Surrey was*

fourteen or fifteen years old;* but there is nothing to disprove the belief that they might have met frequently before that time, and have played together as thoughtless happy boys at Windsor. Nay, if we are to believe Surrey's own words in one of his poems (and the passage is as much entitled to be taken in an autobiographical sense as other verses which have been so interpreted, and which they do not in reality contradict), he certainly spent some of his boyish or childish years with Henry Fitzroy in the place which had so long been the residence of the poetical James I. of Scotland. The passage is this :—

———“Proud Windsor, where I, in lust and joy,
With a king's son, my childish years did pass
In greater feast than Priam's son of Troy.”

This is a distinct statement from that contained in another passage in the same poem, which has been cited as a proof that they were young men before they met at Windsor Castle, in

“Those large green courts, where we were wont to rove,
With eyes cast up unto the Maiden Tower,
With easy sighs, such as men draw in love.”



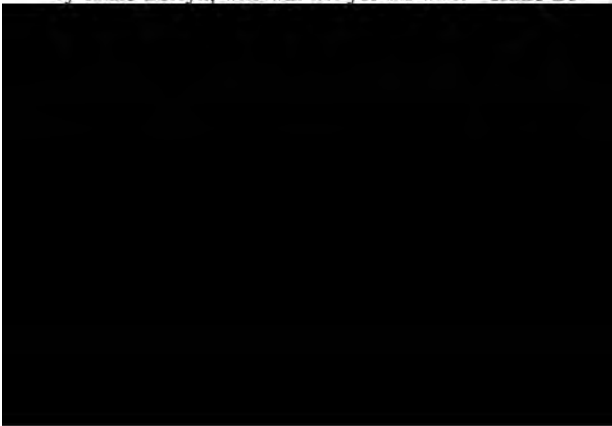
those days for a noble, or even for a princely boy. The king being exceedingly fond of his son was likely to have him frequently in the neighbourhood of the court, and to look out for a companion and playmate for him of his own age; and where could he suit himself better than in the young, noble, and promising Howard? Wherever the poet alludes to Henry Fitzroy, it is as the dear friend and playmate of early life. In 1525, when he is said to have been only in his tenth or eleventh year, Henry Fitzroy was created Earl of Nottingham and Duke of Richmond and Somerset, and ample revenues were allotted to him to maintain a household or little court.* Great care was taken of his education; his father, the king, prided himself on his own learning, and Cardinal Wolsey, who had an ardent and sincere love of literature, was his god-father. As he grew up, he became master of several languages, and attained to an excellent taste in polite literature. Similar pains were taken in the education of the young Surrey, who counted among his kinsmen Bouchier Lord Berners, the translator of Froissart's Chronicles; Thomas Lord Stafford, who wrote in verse, and was the cause of the publication of the 'Mirror for Magistrates;' Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford, who was a poet; Lord Morley, who was conversant with Italian literature, and published some translations from Petrarca; George Boleyn (afterwards Lord Rochford), brother to Anne Boleyn, who wrote songs and sonnets, and to one or two other noblemen who were distinguished by their literary acquirements. As a boy, Surrey was noted for the quickness of his natural parts, and for the progress he had made in his studies. Anthony à Wood, a pleasant gossip, but a bad historical authority where his assertions are not supported by other evidence, says that Surrey was sent to complete his education at Oxford, and that it was *probable* the Duke of Richmond (Henry Fitzroy) accompanied him thither.

* The age of Henry Fitzroy may, very probably, be misstated. We cannot discover that the date of his birth is anywhere given with any pretension to accuracy.

There is not the shadow of a proof that either of these young men ever studied either at Oxford or at Cambridge, either singly or together. From the evidence of Surrey's poems, we are inclined to believe that they completed their studies together at Windsor (to which fair place Surrey so frequently alludes), leading a happy life among

"The stately seats, the ladies bright of hue,
The dances short, long tales of sweet delights."

On the 13th of February, 1532, when Surrey, according to the date usually (but, as we fancy, incorrectly) given to his birth, was only sixteen or seventeen years old, he was contracted to the Lady Frances Vere, daughter of John earl of Oxford. The marriage was to take place on or before the feast of the Pentecost next ensuing; and it is believed to have been solemnized at the time agreed upon. Only a few months after this marriage Surrey visited France in company with the Duke of Richmond, and was present at the interview which took place at Boulogne between Francis I. and Henry VIII., the latter sovereign being accompanied by Anne Boleyn, who was not yet his wife. Anne Bo-



of Norfolk. On account of their own youth, and the still tenderer age of their respective brides, neither Surrey nor Richmond lived with their wives until 1535. The intervening year was spent wholly or in part by the two young men at Windsor, riding and hunting, rendering themselves perfect in military exercises, and making half Platonic and half troubadour love to ladies that were not their brides, but more accessible than they. There was a good deal of this nonsense at the time, and it may possibly have been innocent enough, or at least free from any direct guilt; but Doctor Nott commits a great error in challenging continence and morality as characteristics of this age. Years after this happy residence at Windsor, and when Richmond was in his grave, and Surrey no longer a happy man, he wrote the following lines, which give a lively picture of the kind of life he had led at that royal seat, and which are at the same time a good specimen of his poetical powers. The amusements were many.

“ The palm-play, where, despoiled for the game,
With dazed eyes oft we by gleams of love,
Have miss’d the ball, and got sight of our dame,
To bait her eyes, which kept the leads above.
The gravel’d ground, with sleeves tied on the helm,
On foaming horse, with swords and friendly hearts;
With cheer, as though one should another whelm,
Where we have fought and chased oft with darts.
With silver drops the meads yet spread for ruth;
In active games of nimbleness and strength,
Where we did strain, trained with swarms of youth,
Our tender limbs, that yet shot up in length.
The secret groves, which oft we made resound
Of pleasant plaint, and of our ladies’ praise;
Recording soft what grace each one had found,
What hope of speed, what dread of long delays.
The wild forest, the clothed holts with green;
With reins averted, and swift y-breathed horse,
With cry of hounds, and merry blasts between,
Where we did chase the fearful hart of force.

The void walls eke that harbour'd us each night :
 Wherewith, alas ! revive within my breast
The sweet accord, such sleeps as yet delight ;
 The pleasant dreams, the quiet bed of rest,
The secret thoughts, imparted with such trust ;
 The wanton talk, the divers change of play ;
The friendship sworn, each promise kept so just,
 Wherewith we past the winter nights away.
And with this thought the blood forsakes the face ;
 The tears berain my cheeks of deadly hue :
The which, as soon as sobbing sighs, alas !
 Up-supped have, thus I my plaint renew :
' O place of bliss ! renewer of my woes !
 Give me account, where is my noble fere ?
Whom in thy walls thou did'st each night enclose ;
 To other lief ; but unto me most dear.'
Echo, alas ! that doth my sorrow rue,
 Returns thereto a hollow sound of plaint.
Thus I alone, where all my freedom grew,
 In prison pine, with bondage and restraint ;
And with remembrance of the greater grief,
 To banish the less, I find my chief relief."

In 1535 Surrey and his young wife kept house toge-



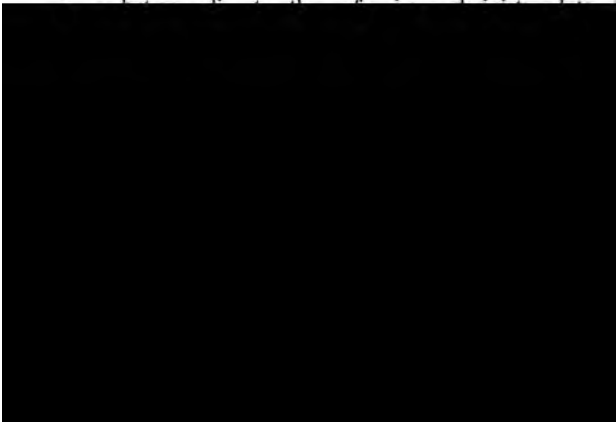
licly showed his displeasure and rage against her at Greenwich, and the next day she was met upon the river by her uncle the Duke of Norfolk, Audley the Chancellor, and Thomas Cromwell, who informed her that she was accused of adultery, and who conveyed her to the Tower. From the moment that Norfolk perceived that his niece, whom he had helped to make queen, was falling from her high estate, he strove to do away the evil impressions which might be made on the king's mind by his near relationship to Anne, and by the aid he had given her, with a great display of zeal for the king's honour, and of forwardness in taking part in all proceedings against his unhappy and at least imprudent niece.* In his quality of earl marshal he could scarcely avoid presiding at her trial; but he did more than this, and much that he did was gratuitous labour, or was undertaken under base personal fears of the king's anger or suspicion. These great men, who had helped to build up a despotism, now felt that none of their heads could be safe under it, unless they were subservient in all things to the tyrant. On the 15th of May Anne Boleyn was brought to trial in Westminster Hall, before seven and twenty right noble peers, who had been selected by the king as men sure to give the death sentence he wanted, in order that he might marry Jane Seymour—which he did the very day after the execution of Anne. Not only did her uncle the Duke of Norfolk sit upon this trial, but Anne's own father was one of her judges! Norfolk presided as lord high steward; and his son the poetical Surrey sate under him as his representative as earl marshal. Norfolk, as president of the court, pronounced the iniquitous and brutal sentence, by which she was either to be burned alive on the green in the Tower, or beheaded, as the king in his pleasure should think fit. Biographers, assuming from his poetry

* These facts rest upon the indisputable testimony of the State Papers relating to the reign of Henry VIII., edited by the Record Commission, and published by Government. *These papers contain many letters written by Norfolk himself, some to the king, some to the lords of the council, &c.*

that Surrey was a person of lively sensibility, and of a highly generous nature, sympathise with the grief he must have felt on this occasion. But they can produce nothing to show the existence of any such grief; and the poet, like his father, continued to be the assiduous and devoted courtier of Henry VIII., and he certainly took part in many transactions which ill accord with the gentle spirit of poetry; not bearing in mind the sentiment he expresses in verse—

“Such craft returns to thine own harm, and doth thyself defile.”

About a month after the execution of Anne Boleyn Surrey's uncle the Lord Thomas Howard was attainted of high treason and committed to the Tower, for having married the Lady Margaret Douglas without the king's permission. Although this lady was niece to the king, there was then no act of parliament which made the marriage criminal; but Henry had set himself above all law, and Lords and Commons were now ready to take his will for law. The Lord Thomas was not brought to the scaffold; he languished in the Tower for nearly two years, and then and there died, of a broken heart, say



sister a very handsome, young, and childless widow. On this occasion the poet's grief appears to have been certain, and sincere, and deep. He frequently recalls the memory of his departed friend in his poems. According to the old and well-known story, it was some time after losing his dear friend that Surrey, leaving his young wife and child at home, went upon an extensive tour to the continent, and signalized himself in Italy by maintaining in tilts and tournaments against all comers the superiority of the charms of the fair Geraldine over those of all womankind. There is more than one point in this old story which must ever remain endeared to the poet and the painter; but the historian and biographer must, we fear, discard the whole narrative as fabulous. It is proved almost beyond the reach of a doubt that Surrey could not have been absent from England, except perhaps for a month or two during the period assigned to his extensive tour and long residence at Venice, Florence, Milan, &c.; and indeed that he never was in Italy at all. Although he names the city of Florence in one of his poems (which is the only one in which he names Geraldine) as the birth-place of the ancestors of his enigmatical mistress, the Lady Geraldine, he merely names it; and in all his writings there is not one descriptive passage which can be referred to Italy, or to any part of it—there is no allusion either to the touching remains of ancient, or the glorious productions of modern art, with which that beautiful peninsula was then crowded. Leonardo da Vinci and Raphael had been dead only a few years; Michael Angelo was alive and at the height of his glory, and Correggio, and Parmegiano, and Titian were flourishing, and the subject of every cultivated Italian's discourse and praise. It was utterly impossible for any one to make even a hurried journey through Italy without seeing the works of these immortal masters, and if they had been seen by a poet like Surrey they must have found some mention in his writings. Nor could Surrey have visited the native country of Petrarca, his *favourite poet*, without noticing the fact anywhere, and *without devoting a line to the place of his birth, or to*

Arquà (near Venice), where he died, and where his remains were lying in a remarkable tomb. No poet could have seen the mountains and valleys, the lakes and ruins, and the other grand and beautiful features of Italian scenery without leaving some allusion to them—something to denote that he had seen them, and had been impressed by them. Nor could a man like Surrey, illustrious by birth and still more by genius and personal accomplishments, have lived in the great cities of Italy without attracting the notice of the Italians of that most literary and poetical age. Yet there is not to be found so much as the name or title of Surrey mentioned by any contemporary Italian writer. As for the love-challenges and tournaments, they had never been much in vogue in that peninsula, and they had entirely gone out of fashion long before the time of our noble poet. If he had ever issued such challenges the Italians would have laughed at him, and his eccentricities would have been recorded both in prose and in mock heroic verse. As Doctor Nott has shown, the simple truth appears to be, that the gossiping Anthony à Wood, who was the first to relate this marvellous tour as an authentic piece of biography, took the whole story from the romance of 'Jack



has turned the striking story of the mirror to good account. But Nash has another incident which is not so well known. At an earlier stage of Surrey's travels, he makes Surrey acquainted with Erasmus, and makes Cornelius Agrippa conjure up the ghost of Cicero, in order that the earl and Erasmus may hear him recite his oration for Roscius, which the said ghost does "with such fervent exaltation of spirits, and such soul-stirring gestures," as fill the auditors with amazement.

Who the fair Geraldine was, or whether she was anything more than an ideal mistress, invented in imitation of the Laura of Petrarca, or the Beatrice of Dante, for the mere purposes of poetry (a wife being considered too real and homely for such an end), has never yet been ascertained satisfactorily, although it has been usual to give that character a real existence in the person of a beautiful Irish lady—the Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald, more commonly called the Lady Elizabeth Garrat. This lady's family were sometimes called the Fitzgeralds, and sometimes the Geraldines. She was daughter to Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth earl of Kildare, whose ancestors were said (without any evidence to support the assertion, and a good deal to contradict it) to have descended from the Gheraldi of Florence. This lady was about eight years old when Nash brings her out in the magic mirror languishing for love of Surrey, and when he makes Surrey challenge the chivalry of Italy in support of her claim to unrivalled beauty. About the year 1542, when this lady was about fourteen years old, she became one of the ladies of the chamber to the Princess Mary, afterwards Queen Mary. In the following year, when she could not have been much more than fifteen years old, she was married to Sir Anthony Brown, who was sixty. On Sir Anthony's death, in 1549, she became the third wife of Henry Clinton earl of Lincoln, whom she survived.* Surrey,

* The worthy bearer of the name of Howard, from whom we have already quoted, believes that Geraldine was purely an imaginary person, a Phillis or Chloe; that the poet was fondly attached to his wife; that at the date assigned to

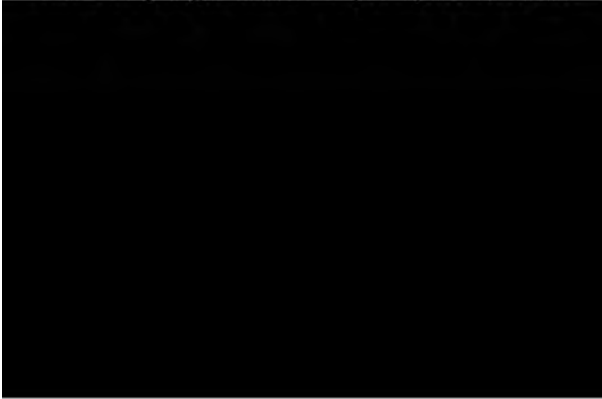
who was married to the Lady Frances Vere in 1535, may have become acquainted at court with this fair young Irishwoman in 1542 or 1543, and may have conceived for her a Platonic or romantic affection, but the facts are not mentioned by any contemporary, nor are they borne out by Surrey's own writings; and although the famous sonnet may be made applicable to this lady, it is exceedingly doubtful whether any of the other passages in Surrey's poems can be at all considered as referring to her. It seems even probable that some of his amorous verses were really addressed to his own fair young wife, or intended as descriptions of her charms. But that which has been generally taken for passion may, in almost every case, be referred to an imitation of the matter as well as the manner of Petrarca. Surrey appears to have been busy in England during the period fixed for his fabulous travels. In May, 1536, he was present at the trial of Anne Boleyn, and in the month of October of the same year he was knighted by the king at St. James's. He held some offices at court, and when in the country he appears to have been occupied in building a celebrated mansion called Mount Surrey, near the city of Norwich. In the month of October, 1537, when



sent over to Calais with Lord Russel and the Earl of Southampton, to see that everything within the English pale was in a proper state of defence, as an attack was apprehended from the French king. But Surrey's stay was very short, for he was back at court before Christmas. In the autumn of 1541 he was appointed, conjointly with his father the Duke of Norfolk, Steward of the University of Cambridge.

In the course of this year the whole of the Howard family must have been thrown into more or less consternation by an uxorious revolution at court. Having put away the Lady Anne of Cleves as an unlovable and insupportable wife, the king, in the month of August, 1540, had married the pretty Lady Catherine Howard, who was niece to Surrey's father the duke of Norfolk. The king declared that he had never wived well until now: but in less than a year the dear Catherine was in the Tower, charged with incontinence before marriage and adultery after it. There was a driving and scrambling for evidence among all the members of the Howard family, and among all their servants and dependants: menials and gentlemen were put to the rack in order to extort confession, and the dowager duchess of Norfolk, the widow of the hero of Flodden field (in whose household the young Catherine had been brought up), was imprisoned, plundered, and tormented in an execrable manner, as were also her son the Lord William Howard, her daughter the Lady Bridgwater, and Lord William's wife. The old duchess-dowager behaved with honour and courage, but not so did other members of her family. The duke of Norfolk steered much the same course as he had previously done in the affairs of that other unhappy niece Anne Boleyn; and in servile letters to the king he deplored his calamity in being uncle to two such bad women. The right noble duke, in a letter which is still preserved, calls the old duchess "his ungracious mother-in-law," his sister Lady Bridgwater his "lewd sister," and speaks of his brother Lord William and of *all the rest of the family* that were in the Tower as *flagrantly guilty, and altogether undeserving of mercy*:

nay, he takes credit to himself for having been a principal informer against his hapless niece the Lady Catherine Howard, whose youthful indiscretions—if she had been really guilty of them, which is doubtful—were not punishable by any civil law, and whose guilt after her union with the king was only sustained by evidence extorted from some at the rack, and from others through dread of it. “Prostrate at your feet,” says the duke to the tyrant, “I most humbly beseech your majesty to call to your remembrance that a great part of this matter is come to light by my declaration to your majesty.”* As the Lady Catherine was not brought to a trial like the Lady Anne, his grace of Norfolk had not to pronounce sentence of death upon this niece, who was attainted by act of parliament without any examination, and in virtue of that attainder consigned to the block. Yet it should appear that the duke voted on that bill. Other members of the family were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, forfeiture of goods, and sequestration of estates during their lives; but the duke and his poetical son came off unscathed. Yet Norfolk’s conduct only went to increase the fury and the strength of the merciless despot, and to pave the way to the scaffold for himself and his son whenever Henry might conceive suspicions, or take offence

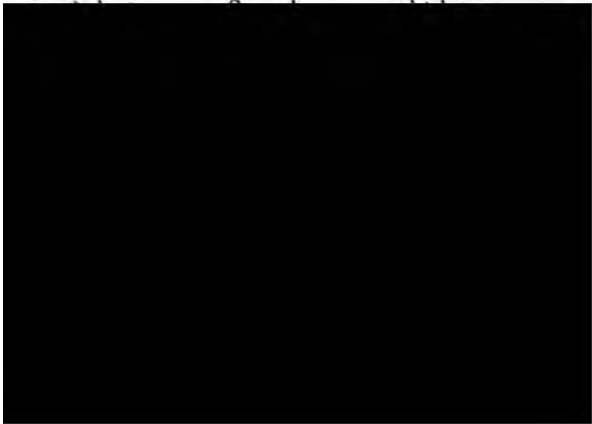


quet with him. He did not bear his punishment with much equanimity. When he had been only a few days in prison he wrote a piteous letter to the Lords of the Council, pleading his youth and inexperience, "the fury of reckless youth," professing great penitence and submission, and imploring the lords to be a means with the king of obtaining his liberation from "this noisome prison, whose pestilent airs are not unlike to bring some alteration of health." He made several applications before his prayer was attended to. At last he was removed to Windsor on the 1st of August; and on the 5th of that month he was liberated, having entered into a recognizance of 10,000 marks not to offer any bodily displeasure, either by word or deed, or by himself, his servants, or any other at his procurement, to John à Leigh, esquire, or any of his. Immediately after his liberation he was sent to join his father, the Duke of Norfolk, who was invading Scotland with 20,000 men. This proved to be a very inglorious campaign, for Norfolk could scarcely penetrate a good day's march beyond the borders, nor stay on Scottish ground longer than eight days, at the end of which he savagely burned twenty villages and the town of Kelso (as many years before he had burned the town and beautiful old abbey of Jedburgh*), and then hastily retreated to Berwick. Surrey commemorated in one of his poems the fact of his seeing "Kelsal blaze." In every way it was an inglorious raid, for Henry VIII. and the duke of Norfolk were in close correspondence with a set of traitorous Scots lords, who had undertaken to betray their king, and who did betray him, and break his heart not long afterwards.

A few months after his return from Scotland Surrey was again in disgrace, being summoned, on the 1st of April, 1543, before the Privy Council, to answer for two

* In his first Scottish campaign, the poet's father or the army under his command was unusually destructive and ferocious. According to the Scottish historian, Buchanan, *they destroyed whatever they could reach, sparing neither the turreted castle nor the straw-covered hut.*

offences with which he had been charged—the one for having eaten meat in Lent-time contrary to the king's prohibition, the other for having “in a lewd and unseemly manner of walking,” strolled about the streets of London by night, breaking the citizens' windows with stones discharged from a cross-bow. “Touching the eating of flesh,” says the minute in the Privy Council book, “he alleged a licence; although he had not so secretly used the same as appertained; and touching the stone-bows, he could not deny that he had had very evil-doings therein, submitting himself therefore to such punishment as should be thought good: whereupon he was committed to the Fleet.” The elaborate Dr. Nott takes a deep concern in this wild escapade, and justifies his hero in a manner unprecedented even among biographers. In introducing the subject, he calls it “a singular occurrence,” which, he adds, “marks the *romantic* turn of Surrey's mind; and enables us to form some opinion as to the nature of his sentiments *on the subject of religion*.” The doctor then gives the two charges, with Surrey's answer to them; but not thinking that answer, as recorded in the Privy Council book, enough for his purpose (and there is no other answer or pleading in exist-



loathsome vices of the citizens : and that he thought, as sinful men are alarmed at " the fearful thunder-clap," so the citizens, startled out of their sluggish sleep by his cross-bow, might be moved to fear and repentance by the sudden rapping of his pebble-stones. But Doctor Nott, who does not appear to know or to suspect that Henry VIII. was no Protestant, that there were no declared Protestants, properly so called, at that time in England, that Protestants were burning at the stake, and that the noble Howards, one and all (with the exception of the widowed Duchesse of Richmond), were strongly attached to the old religion, although the Duke of Norfolk and his son Surrey conformed with the will of the king, who was still the champion of all the great and distinctive dogmas of the Roman church, and aided him in despoiling the monastic orders and in persecuting such as (like Sir Thomas More) would not acknowledge the king's spiritual supremacy,—Dr. Nott will have it that the earl broke the windows of the citizens because they were unconverted Roman Catholics ! If modes of faith had anything to do with the exploit, it is much more likely that Surrey became a window-breaker out of his hatred of the sacramentaries.* On the same day that he was brought before the Privy Council, there appeared in the same presence Thomas Wyatt the younger and young Pickering, who were charged with the same offences. They confessed to the charge about eating meat in Lent-time, pleading, as Surrey had done, that they had a licence—and licences or indulgences of this sort continued to be granted by the crown, as they had been granted before by the pope, long

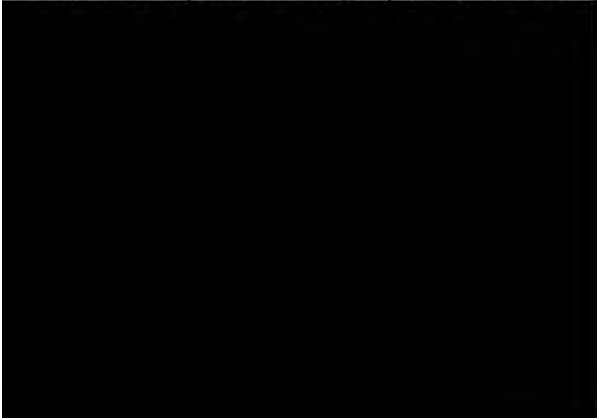
* Mr. Henry Howard, of Corby Castle, is astonished—as well he may be—at Dr. Nott's making Surrey a Protestant in the teeth of the evidence that lay before him. This careful examiner of family documents says decidedly that Surrey was a Catholic—that his wife was a Catholic, and because she was so, her children, after her husband's execution, were taken from her by the Protestant Seymours, and sent to be brought up by the Duchesse of Richmond, who made profession of the Reformed faith.

after the Reformation, which was now in reality only beginning, had been carried out and completed*—but they stiffly denied the window-breaking with stones and cross-bows. Wyatt was sent to the Compter, and Pickering to the Porter's Lodge. The next day they were again called before the Council, and then, after some resistance, they confessed that they had been window-breakers; and thereupon they were both committed, not to the Fleet but to the Tower. Wyatt, who was son of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet and friend of Surrey, lost his head through an insane insurrection he made at the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary; but so far from being a champion of the Protestant cause, as Doctor Nott calls him, he was even at that distance of time a Papist. The best excuse to plead for all the three night-strollers and window-breakers, would be to say that it was some frolic of intoxication; and notwithstanding Surrey's solemn and savage satire, we are more than half disposed to believe that he and his friends Wyatt and Pickering had acted upon no other impulse than that which has animated some lordlings in our own day to break windows and wrench knockers from doors. Wyatt and Pickering were liberated on the 3rd of May, upon their



the learned and celebrated Hadrian Junius, who is said to have been introduced to him by the notorious John Bonner. He gave this scholar comfortable apartments in his mansion of Kenninghall, and allowed him a pension of fifty angels. Junius appears to have acted as tutor to Surrey's sons, as well as physician to the whole family. In the month of July, 1544, when Surrey took the field in France "like a very god of war," the vanguard of the army was commanded by the Earl of Norfolk, and Surrey held the office of Marshal of the Army. Boulogne was reduced after a two months' siege, and the consumption of an incredible quantity of powder; but there the glory of the campaign ended; upon the king's departure for England jealousies and quarrels broke out between Norfolk and the Earl of Hertford, who had risen rapidly in favours and power, owing to Jane Seymour and uncle to Prince Edward, the heir apparent. Surrey behaved bravely, and was seriously wounded in one affair; but the campaign, like all the expeditions of Henry VIII. on the continent, was but a pompous parade, ending in downright failure. Surrey and his father, after leaving a weak garrison at Boulogne, were obliged to make a run of it from that place to the strong walls of Calais, being pursued by the French. Both father and son came over to England. In the summer of the following year Surrey again sailed over to Calais with 5000 men, and was there reinforced by 3000 more. To equip himself for this expedition he had been obliged to mortgage some property. His force was not sufficient to undertake any great enterprise, and there appears to have been no very good understanding between him and the officers serving under or with him. The French were now attempting to retake Boulogne. Surrey solicited for the command of the place with an earnestness which displeased the king. After much importunity he obtained that command in the month of September. He found Boulogne in a weak and almost helpless condition, and he soon made it strong and drove away most of the French that were beleaguering it. Even du Bellay and other French

writers of the time speak with admiration of his energy and activity, and great personal courage. Early in the spring of the following year, having sallied out of Boulogne, Surrey sustained a defeat near St. Etienne, a portion of his infantry being seized with a sudden panic, and flying off the field in shameful disorder. He remained at Boulogne some three months after this reverse, and he so little expected being recalled from the command that he requested the king to allow his wife to go over and join him. But towards the end of March Surrey learned from a friend at court that the Earl of Hertford, the enemy of his house, had been appointed to the supreme command of all the English territories in France. The friend at court, who was Secretary Paget, advised Surrey to conciliate Hertford by submissive behaviour, knowing well that the earl was now all-powerful. The Duke of Norfolk appears to have been submissive enough, for, sinking his family pride, he proposed to marry his daughter, the Duchess of Richmond, widow to the king's natural son, and Surrey's bosom friend, Henry Fitzroy, to Hertford's brother, Sir Thomas Seymour, who afterwards married Catherine Parr, the widow of Henry VIII., and who, during that marriage, is more than suspected of having aspired to the hand



brother Surrey, who "urged her to marry Sir Thomas Seymour, wishing her to endear herself so into the king's favour that she might the better bear rule, as others had done."*

There is nothing to show whether Surrey did or did not make other efforts to conciliate Hertford, or whether he did or did not solicit to hold an inferior command in the army in France. Hertford arrived at Calais in the month of April, and at the same time Surrey received the King's orders to return to England, being told that his Majesty wished to confer with him on the subject of some new fortifications which he had proposed making at Boulogne. But he had no sooner quitted that place, than the command was given to Lord Gray, his personal enemy, and the friend or creature of Hertford. Upon this usage Surrey appears to have broken out furiously against the whole house of Seymour, calling them perfidious men, mushrooms in nobility, and traitors to king and country. He is even said to have threatened them with the sure vengeance of the Howards as soon as the king should be no more; and as Surrey's temper appears to have been at all times rather violent and incautious, and as his provocation was exceedingly great, we may easily credit this assertion. The court and all the high places in England swarmed with spies and eavesdroppers; and there were everywhere men ready to promote their own interests by betraying even the closest confidence of friendship. Surrey was denounced to the king, and was soon lodged as a prisoner in Windsor Castle. His father the Duke of Norfolk, feeling that the wrath of Henry was to be disarmed only by abject submission, wrote a letter to the Lords of the Council, humbly entreating them to give the king thanks for having pleased so to advertise him of his foolish son's demeanour; expressing gladness that his son had behaved humbly and repentantly, and requesting that he might be severely treated, or "earnestly handled,"

* Lord Herbert of Cherbury. *Life and Reign of Henry VIII.*

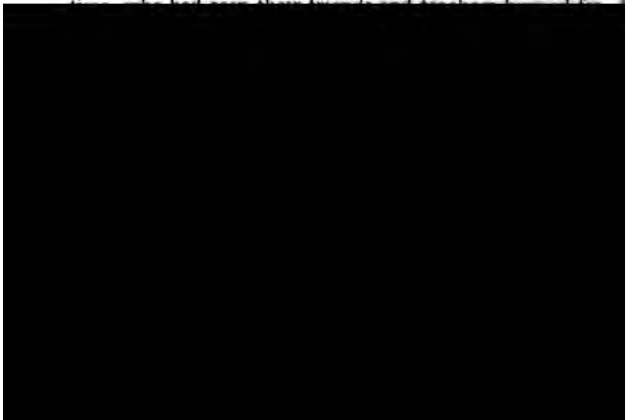
in order to prevent his giving his Majesty any cause of discontent hereafter. This imprisonment in Windsor Castle must have been of short duration, for Surrey, who was not committed until the 11th or 12th of July, was at liberty in the month of August, and was then selected by the king, together with his father the Duke of Norfolk and Archbishop Cranmer, to receive at Hampton Court the French ambassador, who had been sent over to ratify the recently concluded peace. Shortly after this grand scene at Hampton Court, Surrey withdrew either to Framlingham Castle or to Kenninghall; and it appears to have been at this doubtful and perilous crisis that a violent quarrel broke out between him and his father the duke. These noble Howards were never a loving or united family. It is supposed that both father and son continued to express in their retirement and among their own household their hatred and contempt of the Seymours, and that these expressions were treacherously reported to the king, who was now languishing in sickness and in great pain, and in constant fear of death. Henry knowing well that Hertford, who would be in a manner the natural guardian of his young son, Prince Edward, was without influence among the high nobility, trembled at the consequences which might result from this declared



Howards and most of the old nobility were not only opposed to any further extension of Church Reform, but also averse to much which had been done already in that respect. The Duke of Norfolk was indisputably a zealous Papist, and at the head of that religious party : Lord Hertford was the head of the extreme Protestant party, and perhaps by conviction, and certainly through interest, was disposed to convert the more than half Romish church of England into an essentially Protestant church. The first blow aimed by these Protestant Councillors was at the head of Bishop Gardiner, who was a near friend of the Duke of Norfolk, and one of the most determined Papists in England. Gardiner adroitly warded the blow, but he was driven from the council-board, and excluded by the King from the number of those appointed to be executors of his will and councillors to his infant son. At court Hertford concealed his ulterior views about religion, but in city and country he was regarded as the only man that could and would complete the Reformation. But for this religious feeling he would scarcely have had a party at all. There is no doubt that it was he that convinced the distempered Henry, that to remove Norfolk and his far more able and dangerous son, was a duty he owed, both to his successor Prince Edward, and to his people. The tyrant is less answerable for these last savage acts of his reign, than for any of the state crimes that had been previously committed ; for his mind was distempered and weak as well as his body, and in the last stages of the proceedings against the Howards it may be doubted whether he really knew what Hertford and his council were doing.

On the 2nd of December Surrey was summoned from Kenninghall to appear again before the Privy Council, one Sir Richard Southwell, who had formerly professed himself his friend, having deposed "that he knew certain things of the Earl, that touched his fidelity to the King." Surrey's evil genius the Earl of Hertford presided at this meeting of the council, and with the exception of Wriothesley the Chancellor, who was friendly to the old religion, all the ministers and council present

appear to have been implacable enemies of the house of Howard. Surrey "vehemently affirmed himself a true man, desiring to be tried by justice, or else offering himself to fight in his shirt with Southwell. But the Lords for the present only committed them both."* We are not told to what prison Surrey and his accuser were sent in the first instance. When this startling news reached the Duke of Norfolk in the country, he wrote to his friend Bishop Gardiner at London to inquire into the extent of the danger. The Duke's letter was intercepted, and carried to the Privy Council, who thereupon summoned the Duke to appear immediately at court. Norfolk arrived in town on Sunday the 12th of December, when he was seized and sent straight to the Tower. And on the same day Surrey, having been again before the Privy Council, was committed as a traitor to the same dismal prison. Father and son were conveyed, the one by water, the other by land; and neither was aware of the fate of the other. From his dungeon Norfolk wrote to the King, "Undoubtedly I know not that I have offended any man, unless it be such as be angry with me for being quick against such as have been accused for Sacramentaries." [The thorough Protestants of the



Majesty's knowledge.* Surrey's wife, having several young children in her nursery, and being near her confinement, was left at Kenninghall; but the Duchess of Richmond and other ladies, together with the servants, were brought up to London, to be "travailed with by the Council," and then to make their depositions. The Duke's wife was to seek in another direction, for she was not living either at Framlingham or Kenninghall, but was residing by herself, and in a very humble way, at Redburne in Hertfordshire. It is said that she had never borne much love to her husband, and that she was not much concerned for her son. The Duchess, it will be remembered, was Lady Elizabeth Stafford; who had been forced by her father the Duke of Buckingham, to break her engagement with the young lord she loved, and to marry Norfolk, who was so much older than herself. In the year 1521, seven or eight years after her marriage with Norfolk, when her father the Duke was sacrificed to the suspicion and tyranny of Henry VIII., it was her husband that pronounced the death-sentence. In doing this Norfolk is said to have wept like a child. Yet previously to Buckingham's attainder and execution his son-in-law Norfolk is reported to have joined his enemies and to have intrigued against him. It is assumed that these things weighed heavily upon the mind of the Duchess of Norfolk, who, however, continued to live with her husband many years after they had occurred. She is described as a woman of violent passions, proud, jealous, suspicious, and revengeful; and the Duke is set down as an inconstant and ungenerous husband, who openly entertained as his favourite or mistress, a young gentlewoman of the name of Holland. After many scandalous quarrels the Duke and Duchess had separated a few years before this great storm, and she had gone to live in Hertfordshire upon a paltry allowance of three hundred marks a year. She had repeatedly complained by letter to the council of the ill-treatment she had received from her husband, declaring that even her insuf-

* State Papers.

ficient allowance was irregularly paid. She had personally presented formal articles of complaint against the Duke to the King himself; and now that the crisis had come, she charged Norfolk with being as disloyal to his king as he was untrue to his wife. There is reason to believe that the Duchess did not wait for the arrest of her son and husband to display the full extent of her vengeance, but that she accused Norfolk of treasonable words some time before that event, or as soon as she saw that Hertford was bent upon his destruction, and pointed out the means by which evidence might be obtained to convict him. She was brought up to London, but in the subsequent proceedings she was delicately placed in the background of the abominable picture. Yet affection and nature were sufficiently violated without her prominent appearance. The first witness examined by the council was that fair Mistress Holland who had captivated the old Duke, and who had been by him enriched and covered with jewels and introduced at court. She deposed that the Duke had told her, that none of the King's council loved him, because they were new men, and not noblemen born, as also because he believed in the sacraments according to the Church of

The next person to gratify the ears of the lords of the council was the Duchess of Richmond herself. She began her deposition by telling the story of the marriage which her father and brother had attempted to bring about between her and Sir Thomas Seymour, adding the astounding assertion, that her father would have had her brother Surrey, whose wife was then living and well, to have matched with the Earl of Hertford's daughter. She stated that she had often seen her brother incensed against Hertford, and had often heard him say, that those new men loved none of the old nobility, and that, if God should call away the king, they should smart for it. She declared that her brother had hated them all since his being in custody in Windsor Castle, but that her father seemed not to care for their ill-will, saying, his truth should bear him out; that her brother had said the king was displeased with him for the defeat he had sustained in France, and that the royal displeasure, as he conceived, had been increased by those who hated him for having set up an altar in the church at Boulogne; that he had said, "God long save my father's life, for if he were dead they would shortly have my head;" that he had reviled some of the members of the present council; that he had used many passionate words; and also that he had dissuaded her from going too far in reading the Scriptures. But the capital point of her deposition against the life of her own brother was this,—she said, that Surrey had borne on his arms, instead of a duke's oronnet, a cap of maintenance and a crown, "to her dgment much like a close crown, and underneath the ns was a cipher, which she took to be the king's her, H. R." These her two surmises were set down proofs of high treason in Surrey.*

After this unloving sister had said her worst, Sir Edward Knevett was called in. He said he knew of no uth directly by the Earl of Surrey, but *suspected* him *dissimulation* and *vanity*! He added, that a servant urrey's had been in Italy with Cardinal Pole, and

* Lord Herbert.

had returned thence into his service ; that Surrey kept one Pasquale, an Italian, as a jester, but more likely a spy, and so reputed ; that there was also one Pelegriano, an Italian, entertained by the said earl, who loved to converse with foreigners, and to conform his behaviour to them ; wherein he, the deponent, thought that Surrey had some great ill device : and this was all that Sir Edmund Knevett had to say. Then, one Thomas Pope informed the council, that one John Freeman had told him that the Duke of Norfolk, some time ago, during the commotions about religion in the North, had condemned a certain act of parliament, which did violence to men's consciences, as the worst act that had ever been made. Lord Herbert says, that it *seemed* there were other depositions ; but we know of none other except that of an officer in the Heralds' College,* which relates solely to the quartering of the royal arms, the offence which was made prominent on Surrey's trial, and for which in fact he was condemned. Other suspicions, we know, had been infused into the mind of the dying king ; but it appears to have been thought proper to suppress all mention of them in public. Surrey was suspected of a design upon the king's eldest daughter, the Princess

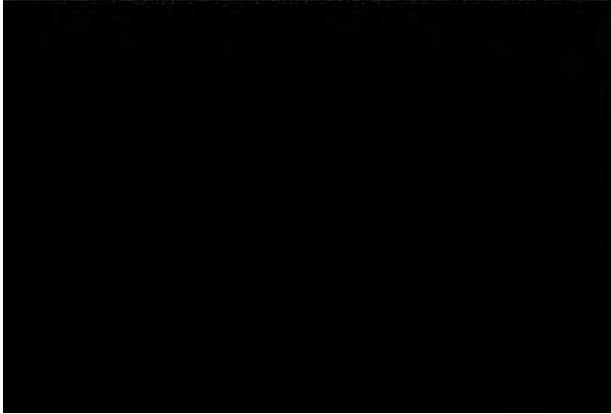


&c.,—there is this startling query, which should seem to have some connection with the project entertained by Norfolk and Surrey to marry the Duchess of Richmond to Sir Thomas Seymour, and so establish her in favour at court:—"If a man compasses with himself to govern the realm, do actually go about to rule the king, and should for that purpose advise his daughter or sister to become his harlot, thinking thereby to bring it to pass, and so would rule both father and son, what this importeth?" These words are all in King Henry's own trembling hand-writing. We give them as indicative of his suspicions, not as proofs against the parties accused. The hatred which she bore to her brother, and the terror she was in, cast a strong shade of doubt even on every part of the evidence of the Duchess of Richmond herself. The remaining queries in the remarkable State Paper document apply exclusively to Surrey, who was far more dreaded by Hertford and the whole Seymour party than his father the duke, who was now an old man, and who had never had a tithe of his son's genius; and they ask, What a man deserves who has said, "If the king should die, who should have the rule of the prince but my father or I? who has endeavoured to deprave the king's council; who has threatened to shut up another man as soon as the king were dead; who was continually threatening to kill or hurt a person that in his duty of allegiance had revealed such matter as he had heard from him touching the king; and who, without the royal licence, had given arms to strangers?"

Such depositions as were taken before the Privy Council were sent down to the king's judges, then at Norwich; and on the 7th of January the judges informed the lords of the council that they found the charges to be true, both against the Duke of Norfolk and the Earl of Surrey, that they amounted to high treason, and that they the judges desired to know whether Sir Edmund Knevett (who had been one of the witnesses for the prosecution), Sir Thomas Paston, Sir John Peer, and others, should be named for the jury.*

* Lord Herbert.

The father and son, however, were not included in one indictment and tried together, nor did the indictment drawn up against Surrey include any other special charge than the amplified one of his having falsely, maliciously, and traitorously, set up and borne the arms of Edward the Confessor, then used by the Prince of Wales, mixed and joined with his own proper arms. A special commission was immediately formed to try the earl; and on the 13th of January, "the king," says Lord Herbert, "being now dangerously sick," Surrey was arraigned in Guildhall, before Wriothesly the Chancellor, Hoverthorn the Lord Mayor, and the other commissioners who had been appointed by the King, or rather by Hertford. Surrey boldly pleaded not guilty. A jury of Norfolk men was then chosen, and the trial proceeded. The original trial is not to be found; and in the accounts extant there is a provoking silence as to the evidence produced by the court, and the witnesses who spoke for the defender. We are told generally that the defendant, being a man of deep understanding, sharp wit, and high courage, defended himself many ways; sometimes denying the accusations as false, and weakening the credit of his adversaries; and sometimes interpreting the words he had spoken in a far other sense than that in which



It appears that the Norfolk family had really a right to quarter the royal arms, and that this right was afterwards admitted by Queen Mary. But if there be any doubt upon this heraldic question, there can surely be none that the charge was too frivolous to affect life. Nevertheless the jury, doing that which they were called together to do, and apparently without any hesitation, brought in a verdict of guilty; and thereupon the chancellor sentenced him to the death of a traitor. Two men of the wealthy and trading Norfolk family of Gresham sat upon this base jury, which, however, was neither better nor worse than the generality of juries at this time; they were Sir Richard the father, and Sir John the uncle, of the Sir Thomas Gresham who built the Royal Exchange. From Guildhall Surrey was sent back to the Tower; "and so the flower of the English nobility was, on the 19th of January, beheaded, the king being then in extremity and breathing his last in blood."* But it appears, from a memorandum in the Burghley State Papers, written in Secretary Cecil's own hand, as also from other authorities, that Surrey was executed, not on the 19th, but on the 21st of January. At neither of these dates was the king in a state to sign the death warrant, or even to apply the stamp which he had been for some time in the habit of using whenever his signature was required. Holinshed says, that even on the 13th, the day of Surrey's trial, the king was "lying in the extremities of death." Hertford and his party surrounded the death-bed, to the exclusion of all others: they may have applied the royal stamp, and the memory of the tyrant may perhaps be relieved of this the last blood shed in his sanguinary reign.

Surrey was executed on Tower Hill. No record is preserved of his behaviour in his last moments. No doubt, like Sir Thomas More, he was forbidden to address the people; and it is probable that the execution took place at some early or unusual hour. His body was buried in the church of All Hallows, Barking, in

* Bishop Godwin.

Tower Street. A monument was afterwards erected to him by his second son, the Earl of Northampton, in the fine old church of Framlingham in Suffolk. It is said that the Earl of Northampton also removed his body to Framlingham; but the fact is doubted, as there is no mention made of it in the register of Framlingham Church, which appears to have been carefully kept. That well-preserved church, which stands almost within the shadow of the ruins of Framlingham Castle—that ancient seat of the Dukes of Norfolk, where the Bigods, the Mowbrays, and the Howards, had successively displayed their power, magnificence, and baronial hospitality, is a place that calls for a pilgrimage from every one that can feel an interest in the old annals of his country. It contains within itself a compendious history of the illustrious House of Howard. There, besides the tomb of the poet and the graves of other members of a family that was for a long time as unfortunate as it was illustrious, are the monuments of the Duke John, who perished at Bosworth Field, and the monument of Duke Thomas, the son of Surrey, who was beheaded and attainted by Queen Elizabeth, in 1572, for his correspondence with Mary Queen of Scots. Books and homilies cannot convey so deep an impression of the vicissitudes of fortune, nor can an elaborate chapter of history so completely portray the convulsive and unhappy condition of greatness in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Surrey's father, the Duke of Norfolk, from his cell in the Tower, repeatedly requested to be confronted with his accusers, either in presence of the king or in that of the council. He protested that he had never called in question the king's supremacy over the church, and that if he had had twenty lives he would rather have spent them all against the Bishop of Rome than ever have seen him have any more power in this realm. Being thoroughly convinced that it was the enmity he had shown to the Protestant party which pressed most heavily upon him, he did violence to his conscience, making other protestations to show that he believed according to act of parliament, and requesting the council to p:

mit him to purchase a copy of Sabellicus, "who," he says, "doth declare most of any book that I have read how the Bishop of Rome from time to time hath usurped his power against all princes by their unwise sufferance." Much is to be allowed to a man helpless in the hands of implacable enemies, pleading for his own life and estates, and much more for a father pleading for the life of a son; but the name of Surrey does not occur in these applications, and it should appear that the duke continued his mean and prevaricating conduct after he knew that his son had perished. It was resolved by the Seymours that no more justice or lenity should be shown to the duke than *he*, in the time of his favour and might, had meted out to others. It is not probable that any of his mean-spirited applications were shown to the dying king. After several private examinations in the Tower, the duke, upon some promises tendered to him in the name of the king, consented to write or sign a submission and confession. In this document he confessed that during his long and difficult services he had occasionally communicated to others some of the secrets of the Privy Council, contrary to his oath; that he had concealed high treason, in keeping secret the false and traitorous act, most presumptuously committed by his son Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, in quartering the arms of Edward the Confessor (when this was written his son was yet alive*), that

* The right-minded bearer of the noble name of Howard says nobly—"It is humiliating to see such a failure in a man for the sake of the very few years of life he might have to linger through, lowering himself, in the letters he wrote to the king and council, and in the admission he made that by using the arms, which he had at all times been sanctioned to bear, he had been guilty of a treasonable act. By such an admission, he, as far as in him lay, gave sanction to the pending iniquitous proceedings against his son, and assisted in sealing his doom, for when he admitted such to be treasonable acts, how could it be expected that the jury would have courage to find that they were not so?—*Henry Howard, Indications of Memorials, Monuments, &c., of the Howard family.*

he had himself treasonably borne on his shield the said arms of England, with the difference of labels of silver, which of right belonged only to Prince Edward; and finally that for these heinous offences he had deserved by the laws of the realm to be attainted of high treason, and to suffer the punishment, losses, and forfeitures that appertain thereunto; although he most humbly, and with a most sorrowful and repentant heart, did beseech his highness the king to have mercy, pity, and compassion on him. To complete the old man's degradation, one of the witnesses to the signing of this paper in the Tower was Lord Hertford.

The Seymours had no time to lose, for the life of the king was hanging by a thread. Instead of arraigning Norfolk before his peers, they proceeded according to the iniquitous system which Thomas Cromwell had introduced, and by which, in retributive justice, he had been himself hurled to the block. A bill of attainder, founded on the confession, was brought into the House of Lords, and read three times on three successive days, Archbishop Cranmer being present at every reading. The Commons did their work with equal despatch, returning the bill, passed, in three days more. This was done by the 25th of January and on the 27th Wrio-



in such hurry and confusion that the bill was never enrolled, and consequently was not to be considered as an act. But during that very night of the 27th of January, or at a very early hour on the morning of the 28th, the king died. It has been said that the Lieutenant of the Tower, believing the warrant to be informal, as it could not have received the king's signature, or knowing by secret information that the king was actually dead, refused to proceed to the execution. We think it rather more probable that the order was countermanded by the Lords of the Council as soon as Henry had breathed his last. Most of our annalists have set it down, somewhat vaguely, that the Seymour party, which succeeded to almost absolute power, did not think it advisable to begin a new reign by shedding the blood of the first nobleman of England; but, from the character of the majority of those men, we may be justified in believing that they were deterred merely by the dread of odium and of after-consequences to themselves, in case of a failure of the schemes and forgeries which they were committing in order to secure their, as yet, unstable power. They concealed the death of the king from Friday the 28th till Monday the 31st; but they must have known it to be impossible to disguise for any length of time that Henry had expired *before* the hour which had been fixed for Norfolk's execution. If the king had lived two or three hours longer, no doubt, the head of Norfolk would have been upon the block; but, *then*, it might have been made to pass as the deed of a living king, and not as the unauthorized vengeance of personal enemies. The interval between Henry's death on the night of the 27th or morning of the 28th, and the disclosure of the fact on the 31st, is said to have been spent in debating upon what was to be done with the Duke of Norfolk. This subject may have occupied a part, and that a very

rity Bishop Burnet is convicted of error or misrepresentation in stating that Cranmer, to avoid concurring in the guilt of *this act of attainder*, withdrew to Croydon before the bill was introduced.

serious part of their attention ; but they had many other things to think about ; and much of that time must have been spent in forging the clauses of the king's will upon which they rested all their claim to all the powers and offices of the state, and their claim to the partition among them of the estates and property of the Howards and of other victims to bills of attainder. But whatever were the lucky accidents, or the motives in the hearts of his enemies, that stayed the execution, Norfolk was certainly reprieved, being left in the Tower with the iniquitous sentence hanging over him ; the Seymours neither annulling that sentence, nor taking any pains to give it a greater appearance of regularity and justice. On the 20th of February, when the child Edward VI. had been crowned in Westminster Abbey, and when Lord Hertford had taken into his own hands the high state offices which had been held by Norfolk, and had made himself Duke of Somerset, Governor of the person of the king's majesty, and Protector of all his realms, a general pardon for state offences was proclaimed, but in this the Duke of Norfolk, as well as Cardinal Pole, and a few others, were excepted. The old duke lay a close prisoner in the Tower, from December, 1546, till the 3rd of August, 1553, when the accession of Queen



he was cut off by his enemies, nor can they obscure his fame as a poet, scholar, and refiner of the language or rhythm of English verse. The delicacy which we vainly look for in his portrait is to be found in much of his poetry. Except in some passages in his version of the second and fourth books of the *Æneid*, which seem to us remarkable for their power, he is seldom very powerful ; but he is almost everywhere neat and delicate, and is not unfrequently tender. But at times his delicacy becomes absolute weakness. He is entitled to high praise as being the first to introduce the use of blank verse. This he borrowed from the Italian writers, with whom it was a novel experiment in his day. From the same rich school of verse he introduced the sonnet. He was also the first Englishman who used the elegiac quatrain, which was admired and used by Dryden, and brought to perfection by Gray in his *Elegy*. His best sonnet, and perhaps the best piece he ever produced in any form, measure, or style, is his address to Spring. We subjoin it as a gentle and soothing conclusion to the harsh and tragical story of his life. We have slightly modernized the orthography, but have not otherwise altered the sonnet.

The sweet season that bud and bloom forth brings,
With green hath clad the hill, and eke the vale,
The nightingale with feathers new she sings ;
The turtle to her mate hath told her tale :
Summer is come, for every spray now springs.
The hart hath hung his old head on the pale,
The buck in brake his winter coat he flings,
The fishes fleet with new repaired scale,
The adder all her slough away she flings,
The swift swallow pursueth the flies small,
The busy bee her honey how she mings ;
Winter is worn that was the flower's bale :
And thus I see among these pleasant things
Each care decays, and yet my sorrow springs.



Our memoir of the Earl of Surrey shows in what manner the old family of the Howards was sacrificed to secure



LADY JANE GREY.



but, in June 1547, scarcely five months after the death of Henry VIII., the Lord High Admiral espoused that king's widow, Catherine Parr, who was too desperately enamoured to wait any longer. By this marriage the lord admiral hoped to acquire the wealth which Catherine Parr had accumulated while she was queen, a share in the dower to which she was now entitled, and to obtain through her means an easy access to the young king Edward VI., over whom Catherine was supposed to have great influence. By a royal grant, dated

August 1548, the lord admiral, in his own right, was put in possession of an immense deal of landed property, part of it being taken from the spoils of the Howard family. Violent and inconstant, he soon quarrelled with his wife. To the princess (afterwards queen) Elizabeth, who was living with Catherine Parr, his behaviour was extraordinary and so free as to provoke, almost inevitably, the suspicion that he aspired to a union with her. Evidence was also produced to prove that the princess, then only in her fifteenth year, was rather warmly attached to the lord admiral; and it is stated by several old writers, that she, in effect, never forgot this her first love. Catherine Parr did not conceal her jealousy and rath either from Elizabeth or from the lord admiral her husband. After a scene disgraceful to all concerned in it, Elizabeth was removed to a wiser and safer keeping, being apparently sent to the then royal house at Hatfield.*

While Elizabeth resided with Catherine Parr and the lord admiral, there lived under the same roof, Elizabeth's near relative—the Lady Jane Grey, upon whom, also, the licentious and unscrupulous lord admiral had his designs.

The Lady Jane Grey is supposed to have been born at Bradgate in Leicestershire, about the year 1537, or four years after the birth of the Princess Elizabeth. As usual, there is a want of precision as to place or date.

* *These strange facts, with others yet more startling, are retained in the Burghley 'State Papers.'*

She was the eldest of the three daughters of Henry Grey, Marquess of Dorset, by the Lady Frances, daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by the Lady Mary Tudor, *youngest* sister of Henry VIII. Thus she was, through her mother, grand-niece of Henry VIII. and first cousin once removed to Edward VI.*

There is no authentic account of the Lady Jane's earliest years. She is first mentioned in connexion with Catherine Parr, at the time when she was sent to reside with her at Chelsea, very soon after the death of Henry VIII. If the date usually given to her birth be correct (of which there is some doubt), she could not have been much more than ten years old at that time. She resided in the house at Chelsea both before Catherine's imprudent marriage with the lord admiral and after that event, which followed so closely upon the death of the old king. Young as she was, she could not have learned much good in that house. Thus early, projects of marriage were agitated for her; and the lord admiral, bearing in mind her near relationship to the Royal Family, upon which, hereafter, some right or claim might be raised, became exceedingly urgent with her parents to intrust her to his disposal of her hand. Her father, the Mar-

to a daughter, died, complaining, with her last breath, of the wrongs she had received from her husband the lord admiral. According to the common practice of those dishonourable and iniquitous times, he was charged with having poisoned Catherine, in order to clear the path to a *greater* marriage. The Lady Jane was in the house when Catherine died; and there the admiral wanted to keep her. The Princess Elizabeth had been for some time removed; and it was evidently upon this very account that he was the more eager to retain Lady Jane Grey, whose right to the crown was in reality afterwards set forth as superior to that of Elizabeth. The publication of a curious correspondence between his lordship and Jane's father, the Marquess of Dorset, shows the admiral's excessive eagerness to keep the young lady in his power.* Notwithstanding this earnestness, the young lady was, however, sent back to her father and mother, the Marquess of Dorset still promising that the admiral should have "the bestowing of her." Yet the admiral soon got her back into his actual keeping by bribing her right noble father. This has been proved beyond controversy by a recent writer, who gives a letter written by the Marquess of Dorset himself, after the lord admiral's trial, wherein he (the marquess) states that it was his determination not to have permitted his daughter to return to Seymour (then, be it said, not only a widower, but one whose looseness and profligacy were open and notorious), but that the lord admiral went himself to Dorset House—"and was so earnest in persuasion that he could not resist him, amongst the which persuasions was that he would marry her to the king's majesty;"—and lest an opposition might be offered by the mother, Sir William Skevington was employed by Seymour to win over the marchioness and to overcome her natural reluctance.† But other persuasions were used by the wealthy and impatient lord admiral. So soon as the

* See 'Lady Jane Grey and her Times,' by George Howard, Esq. 8vo. London, 1822.

† *Id.*

her why she would lose such pastime in the park? Smiling, she answered me: 'I wis, all their sport in the park is but a shadow to that pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant.' 'And how came you, Madame,' quoth I, 'to this deep knowledge of pleasure? And what did chiefly allure you to it, seeing not many women, but very few men have attained thereunto?' 'I will tell you,' quoth she, 'and tell you a truth which perchance ye will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits that ever God gave me, is that he sent me so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a school-master. For, when I am in presence either of father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go, eat, drink, be merry or sad, be sewing, playing, dancing, or doing anything else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, and number, even so perfectly as God made the world; or else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea, presently, sometimes with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other ways (which I will not name for the honour I bear them) so without measure misordered, that I think myself in hell, till time come that I must go to Mr. Elmer [Aylmer], who teacheth me so gently, so pleasantly, with such fair allurements

the date of her birth is conjectural. Some time after this visit at Bradgate, Ascham wrote a long letter in Latin to the Lady Jane, in which he warmly declares his admiration of her understanding as well as of her learning, and requests of her not only to answer him in Greek, but also to write a letter in the same language to his friend Sturmius, a celebrated scholar, whose choice Latinity had procured for him the title of the 'Cicero of Germany.' Ascham tells her that he is anxious to have an indifferent witness to the truth of the report which he was making in Germany of her rare acquirements.* He speaks of her in other letters with perfect enthusiasm, insisting that Aristotle's praise of women is justified or perfected in her. He further says—"She possesses good manners, prudence, and a love of labour. She has every talent, without the least weakness of her sex. She speaks French and Italian as well as she does English. She writes elegantly, and with propriety. She has more than once spoken Greek with me, and she writes in Latin with great strength and sentiment."†

Sir Thomas Chaloner the elder, another contemporary, who must at one time have been personally acquainted with Lady Jane, as he was closely connected with the Protector Somerset, not only confirms Ascham's assertions, but adds to her erudition and accomplishments, making her know three Oriental languages, as well as Greek and Latin. Chaloner says that she was well versed in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic; that she also excelled in all feminine accomplishments, playing well, singing exquisitely, surpassing the rest of women in curious needlework, and writing an elegant hand; and that, with all these rare endowments, she was of a mild, humble, and modest disposition. As usual, some deductions must be made from the exaggeration and extravagance of panegyric. The Protestant party, who made an idol of her, and who doubly expected her to be their queen, made more wonderful that which was wonderful enough without, and her melancholy and touching fate

* *Familiarum Epistolarum Libri Tres.* † *Id.*
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naturally indisposed men to the making of any rigid inquiries into the extraordinary reports. She was not likely to know the three Oriental languages, because there appears to have been nobody at that time in England capable of teaching them, and because there were no books to supply the place of a master. If she had known Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic, Ascham would assuredly have mentioned it in plain prose at the time, and not have left it to be recorded by Chaloner in eulogistic Latin verse a good many years after her death. Still, however, it will remain indisputable that her intellect was wonderfully precocious, and that her attainments were very great. Nor is there any good reason for doubting that she was the modest, amiable, gentle creature she is represented to have been. She had been the victim of ambition and selfish intrigue from her childhood; and it was her own selfish father that made a sacrifice of her.

In the beginning of the year 1553 Edward VI. was seized with a violent cough, which no medicines could relieve; and the cough was soon followed or accompanied by other sure symptoms of consumption. In the month of May it was evident that he was sinking rapidly. When it was quite clear that

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Jane Grey was

dangers and calamities which he said must arise from the succession of either of his sisters. The princess Mary, the elder, was known to be a bigoted papist, who, if allowed to ascend the throne, would undo all that had been done during Edward's time, in the settlement of the Protestant religion ; yet Mary could not be set aside without urging a plea—that of her illegitimacy—which would equally exclude Elizabeth, for both those princesses had been bastardized by acts of parliament—Mary after the divorce of her mother, Catherine of Arragon, and Elizabeth after the trial and execution of her mother Anne Boleyn. According to the Duke of Northumberland, and those who acted with him, the only safe course was to pass by both his sisters, and appoint his cousin, the thoroughly Protestant Lady Jane Grey, to be his successor. It had often and long since been laid down in law that the mere will and testament of a sovereign could not alter or dispose of the succession—that the crown of England was not to be bequeathed like a house or a piece of land ; but law and the constitution had sunk into insignificance under the Tudor despotism, and it was urged that Edward might follow the example of his father Henry, and execute a new entail of the crown. Northumberland, with his own daring hand, laid pens and paper before the dying king, who was certainly sincere and thoroughly conscientious in his love to the Reformed Church, and detestation and dread of the old one ; and Edward with his own pen sketched a draft of the instrument entailing the crown on Lady Jane ; and as soon as a fair copy of the deed could be written out, he signed it with his own name, above and below, and on each margin. The chief justice of the Common Pleas, one of the puisne judges of the same court, the attorney and solicitor general, and one other of the crown lawyers, being called upon to draw up the instrument in a more legal or technical form, refused to do the work, alleging that it would subject them to the pains of high treason.

IV., by Margaret, eldest sister of Henry VIII. Lady Jane descended from the youngest sister of Henry.

But Northumberland came rushing into the room in a fury, calling the chief justice a traitor, threatening them all, so that they thought he would have beaten them, and telling them that in so just a cause he was ready to fight with any man in his shirt; and so, on the very next day, these timid lawyers consented to draw the will, the young king declaring that he would have it ratified by parliament, which was to meet in the month of September. The instrument, being engrossed on parchment, was carried to the chancery. On the 21st of June it received the signatures of all the lords of the Council, of most of the judges, and of the attorney and solicitor general. Previously to this Northumberland had induced twenty-four members of the Council to sign another and more private paper, pledging themselves by their oaths and honour to observe every article contained in his majesty's own device respecting the succession; to defend it to the uttermost; and if any man should ever attempt to alter it, to repute him an enemy to the kingdom, and punish him as he deserved. The first signature to this paper was that of Archbishop Cranmer. The death that was so confidently expected happened in a few days. On the evening of the 6th of July, Edward VI. breathed

at number of Protestants, who had a clear fore-
the Marian persecutions; her own devotion to
rmed Church was enthusiastic; and she was told
church must perish unless she seated herself on
ie and surrounded herself with Protestant coun-
her young and handsome husband was brought
and entreat, and exercise all his influence over
ationate heart; but that which perhaps was the
ent inducement of all was the conviction that her
d friends had already gone too far to retract, and
she must go on with them or see them perish.

to gain time, and to make those preparations
ight to have been made long before, the Duke of
berland, the lords of the Council, and all the
bout the court at Greenwich agreed to conceal
ward's death: and it was concealed from the even-
e 6th till the afternoon of the 8th of July, when
d Mayor of London, six aldermen, and twelve
izens "of chiefest account" were called down to
ch, where they were secretly told that the king
l, and were shown his last will and the letters
y which he had appointed the Lady Jane to be
ssor.

the mayor and his company were allowed to
London, they swore allegiance to Lady Jane,
bound under a great penalty not to divulge
secret passages," until they should receive orders
Council.

On the following day Lady Jane was
l to the Tower of London, and there publicly
as queen; and in the course of that evening the
Edward was publicly divulged for the first time,
was proclaimed in the city with somewhat less
usual formality. The people of London were
l, many of them whispering the name of Queen
nd comparatively very few of them entering into
t of this revolution in the order of succession.
rs that the amiable victim did not entertain any
hope. "So far was she," says Bishop Godwin,
y desire of this advancement, that she began to
art of royalty with many tears, thus plainly

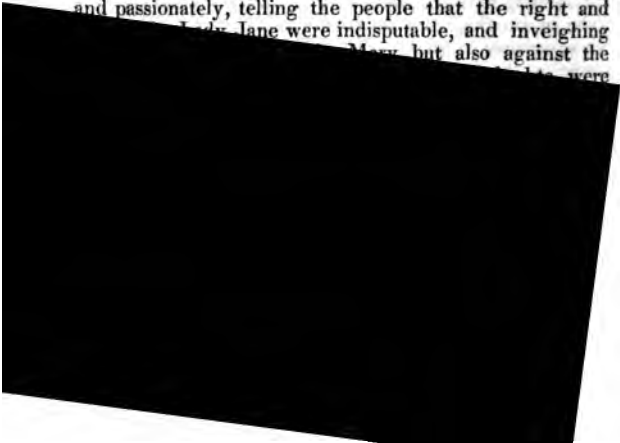
showing to those who had access to her that she was forced by her relations and friends to this high, but dangerous post." But before these open proceedings, both the princesses were fully acquainted with all the "secret passages," and with all the intentions of Northumberland, who was betrayed by some of the Lords of the Council who pretended to act with him; and Mary, safe in Framlingham Castle, that stronghold of the Catholic Howards, was calling an army to her standard. In the course of that decisive day, the 9th of July, the Council received a letter from Mary, claiming the crown as her indisputable inheritance. The lords of the Council, writing from the Tower of London, replied on the same day, affirming that "our sovereign lady, Queen Jane," was invested and possessed with the just and right title to the crown, "not only by good order of old antient good laws of this realm, but also by our late sovereign lord's letters patent, signed with his own hand, and sealed with the great seal of England," &c.—that they must obey her said grace Queen Jane and none other—that "forasmuch as the divorce made between the king of famous memory, King Henry VIII., and the Lady Catherine (Mary's mother), was necessary to be

who had behaved so badly to Sir Thomas More), William Cecil (afterwards secretary to Queen Elizabeth, and Lord Burghley), and nine other members of the Council. But a good many of these men were already determined to save their own heads by abandoning the revolution at the first opportunity, and several of them besides Cecil were corresponding secretly either with Mary or with Elizabeth.

Forces raised to serve the Lady Jane, or rather Northumberland, went over in a mass to Queen Mary; and even a small fleet which was sent round the coast of Suffolk and Norfolk hoisted her flag. On the 12th of July Mary was proclaimed in the important city of Norwich, which forthwith sent her men and ammunition. Quitting Framlingham Castle near the Suffolk coast, she came to that other great seat of the Howards, Kenninghall in Norfolk, where she was joined by the Earls of Bath and Sussex, Sir Thomas Wharton, Sir John Mor-daunt, Sir William Drury, and many other gentlemen of rank and influence.

Northumberland, being aware that some of the lords of the Council were not to be trusted, dreaded the cabals they might raise against him, if he took the field and left them in London; and he knew not whom to trust with the command of the Queen Jane's army if he did not go himself with it. At last he thought of placing the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's father, at the head of the forces, which were to fall upon Mary before she should gain more strength, and, if possible, to bring her out of Norfolk a prisoner to the Tower. But Suffolk had no military reputation, and Northumberland was evidently afraid of trusting him alone, while the Council, for their own safety, were bent upon making the chief plotter go himself. Their manœuvre was aided by the filial tenderness of Lady Jane, whose feelings were always worked upon, and who, with sighs and tears, requested that her dear father might tarry in her company. Then the lords of the Council flattered the pride or military conceit of Northumberland, by telling him that he was so great a soldier that none would dare lift up their weapons against him. In the end Northumberland said—"Since

ye think it good, I and mine will go, not doubting of your fidelity to the queen's majesty, whom I leave in your custody." He also reminded them of their oaths of allegiance to the virtuous Lady Jane, "who," said he, "by *your* and *our* enticement, is rather of force placed on the throne, than by her own seeking and request;" and he bade them consider that the cause of God, the promotion of the Gospel, and the fear of the Papists, the original grounds upon which they had given their consent to the proclaiming of Queen Jane, bound them to the cause for which he was going to fight.* Nearly every man whom Northumberland thus addressed had made up his mind to declare for Queen Mary as soon as his back should be turned, but they one and all promised and vowed to support the good cause; and so Northumberland departed. On the Sunday after his departure, Ridley bishop of London, whose whole soul was in the revolution, as offering the only chance of preventing the return of papistry, with the fiery persecution of the Protestants, and who was afterwards burned by Queen Mary at Oxford, preached at St. Paul's Cross most eloquently and passionately, telling the people that the right and true Lady Jane were indisputable, and inveighing against the usurper Mary, but also against the



and who was married to a sister of Catherine Parr. No sooner were these lords of the Council safe within Baynard's Castle than they declared with one voice for Queen Mary, and instantly despatched two of the members of their own body—the Earl of Arundel and Cecil—with Sir William Paget, to Norfolk, to notify their submission and exceeding great loyalty: and in the course of the same day they caused Mary to be proclaimed in Cheapside, and went in procession to St. Paul's, singing *Te Deum*. This being done, the lords of the Council detached some forces to besiege the Tower. The timid Duke of Suffolk threw open the Tower gates to them as soon as they appeared, and entering his daughter's chamber, told her that she must be content to be unqueened, and return to a private station. As for Suffolk himself, he was allowed to post off to Baynard's Castle, where, as a member of the Council, he subscribed the decrees they were issuing in the name of Queen Mary; but his daughter the Lady Jane and her husband Lord Guildford Dudley were kept fast in the Tower. The following little anecdote shows the sudden, stage-like progress of this drama.

A Mr. Edward Underhill, who had been admitted into the band of gentlemen-pensioners by Edward VI., had been placed about the person of the Lady Jane, for he was a most zealous Protestant, being commonly designated "the hot-gospeller." He was a favourite with the new court, and was on duty at the Tower, when his wife, who was living in the city, was delivered of a son. The Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Pembroke had consented to stand as sponsors by proxy, and the Lady Jane had not only signified her intention of being god-mother, but had also desired that the child should be called Guildford, after her husband. The baptism, as appointed, took place on the 19th of July (in the course of which day the lords of the Council proclaimed Mary, and made Jane a state-prisoner), Lady Throckmorton being deputed by Jane to act as the royal proxy. On leaving the Tower, Lady Throckmorton received the usual commands from Lady Jane herself, according to established *etiquette*—*s* e *left* Jane surrounded by the *pomps* and
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circumstances of royalty, but when, after a short absence, she returned from the christening to the Tower, she was overwhelmed with astonishment at finding that the canopy of state, together with all other ensigns of royalty, had been knocked down and removed from Jane's apartment. Lady Throckmorton, however, was soon informed of the change which had taken place during her short absence; being further told that her lady was a prisoner for high treason, and that she must attend her, but under the weight of a similar capital charge.*

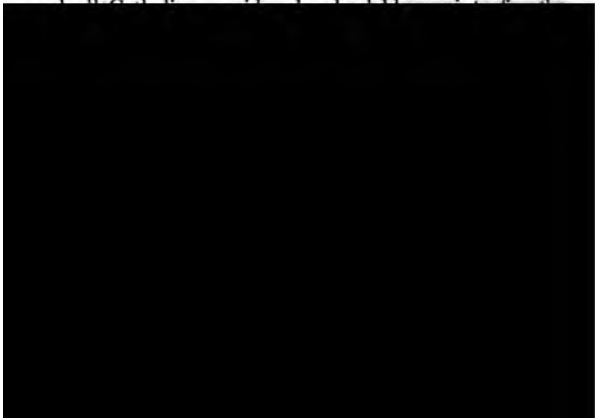
Finding that his troops were deserting him, and that the cause was betrayed and abandoned on all sides, the Duke of Northumberland, on the 20th of July, the day after Mary's proclamation in London, being in the town of Cambridge, went to the market-cross and proclaimed Queen Mary there, and was himself the first man to throw up his cap, and cry "God save her!" This did not save him from the Tower and the scaffold. On the 3rd of August, Queen Mary entered London in triumph, having previously disbanded her army, which had never had occasion to draw a sword. On the 18th of August, the Duke of Northumberland, his eldest son John earl of Warwick and William Parr, marquess of Northampton



youthful husband Lord Guildford, his brother Lord Ambrose Dudley, and Archbishop Cranmer, were all condemned to suffer death as traitors; but Queen Mary sent them back to the Tower, and apparently without any intention of ever bringing them to the block. It was not until this the day of the trial that Jane was allowed to see her husband. On returning to the dismal state prison the young couple were again separated. They were otherwise treated with much leniency, and both were allowed considerable liberty within the precincts of the Tower, and were indulging in the fond hope of a pardon, when, early in the following year, 1554, Wyatt's mad rebellion broke out. This Sir Thomas Wyatt was a Catholic gentleman of Kent, and son of the poet of that name who has been associated in glory with the Earl of Surrey. Although connected by blood with the Dudleys, he had refused to co-operate with Northumberland in setting up Lady Jane, and had even been forward to proclaim Queen Mary at Maidstone, before knowing that she had been proclaimed any where else. But, Catholic as he was, Wyatt abhorred the cruel bigotry and grasping ambition of the Spanish court, and consequently the marriage which Mary had contracted with Philip II.; and being an honest but an exceedingly rash man—so rash as to appear almost half insane—he entered into a plot with a set of faithless scoundrels, or cowards, who engaged to raise the standard of revolt in different parts of the kingdom at one and the same time. Lady Jane's father, who had received the queen's free pardon, not only entered into this plot, but ran away into Warwickshire, and there with his two brothers, the Lord John and the Lord Leonard Grey, made proclamation against the queen's marriage, and called the people to arms. Wyatt, after a feeble and ridiculous attempt to get possession of the city of London, was beaten and made prisoner on the 7th of February.

This insurrection cost the lives of 400 persons, who were executed in the course of February and March, *besides many who were put to death afterwards. The Duke of Suffolk was defeated and made prisoner in the*

midland counties, and Sir Peter Carew, another of the conspirators, was defeated in the west. Carew had the good fortune to escape to France, but the father of Lady Jane was captured. During the insurrection Mary and her court were agitated by suspicions, and after the insurrection by revenge. The princess Elizabeth, who was accused of corresponding with Wyatt, was placed under arrest the very day after Wyatt's first rising in Kent, and was subsequently committed to the Tower. Other victims were sent to the same state prison; and Mary being induced to believe that the life of the Lady Jane was incompatible with her own safety and the tranquillity of the country, in three or four days after Wyatt's discomfiture, signed the death-warrant both for Jane and her husband. On the morning of the 12th February, the Lord Guildford Dudley was taken out to Tower-hill, where, after saying his prayers and shedding a few tears, he laid his head on the block and died quietly. The fate of this young and handsome man excited commiseration among the spectators, and as it was calculated that that of his wife would make a still deeper impression, it had been resolved to execute her more privately within the walls of the Tower. Queen Mary showed what she



happy immortality. By this time her own scaffold upon the green within the Tower was ready; and almost as soon as her husband's body passed towards the chapel the lieutenant led her forth to die. She uttered no moan and shed not a tear, although her two gentlewomen Elizabeth Tilney and Mistress Helen "wonderfully wept." She had a book in her hand, wherein she read and prayed until she reached the scaffold. From that platform she addressed a few modest words to the very few spectators who had been admitted to witness her end, stating that she had justly merited her fate for suffering herself to be made the instrument, however unwillingly, of the ambition of others. She then implored God's mercy, caused herself to be disrobed by her gentlewomen, veiled her own eyes with her handkerchief, and stretched her neck across the billet. The executioner was moved, and lingered with his upheld axe. She exhorted him to do his office. At last the axe fell, and her fair head rolled away from the body, drawing tears from the eyes of all present, not excepting those who were most devoted to Queen Mary and to the faith she professed.*

The Duke of Suffolk, who had never been worthy of the child whom his ambition and imbecility had sacrificed, was publicly beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 23rd of February, eleven days after the execution of his daughter and son-in-law. Sir Thomas Wyatt perished at the same place on the 11th of April; Lord Thomas Grey, one of Suffolk's brothers, was executed about a fortnight after, and other executions followed. But the only victim that excited any lasting interest, or that deserved to excite it, was the fair Lady Jane. Honest old Fuller, with his usual point, and apparently with little inaccuracy, unless it be in relation to her age, of which some doubts must be entertained, says of her—"She had the innocency of childhood, the beauty of youth, the solidity of middle, the gravity of old age, and all at eighteen; the birth of a princess, the learning of a

* De Thou. Bishop Godwin.

clerk, the life of a saint, and the death of a malefactor for her parent's offences."

The literary remains of Lady Jane, all of a religious, and most of them of a controversial character, are these—

I. Three letters in Latin to Henry Bullinger, written before her marriage, between the years 1550 and 1553.—

II. A letter to a friend newly fallen from the Faith.—

III. A conference with Feckenham written a few days before her execution.—IV. A prayer for her own use whilst a prisoner in the Tower.—V. A letter to her

father from the Tower.—VI. A letter to her sister Catherine, written on Sunday the 11th of February,

1554, the night before her execution, on the blank leaf of a Greek New Testament.—VII. Notes in a Manu-

script Manual of prayers.—These are believed by her latest and best editor* to be unquestionably hers. Some

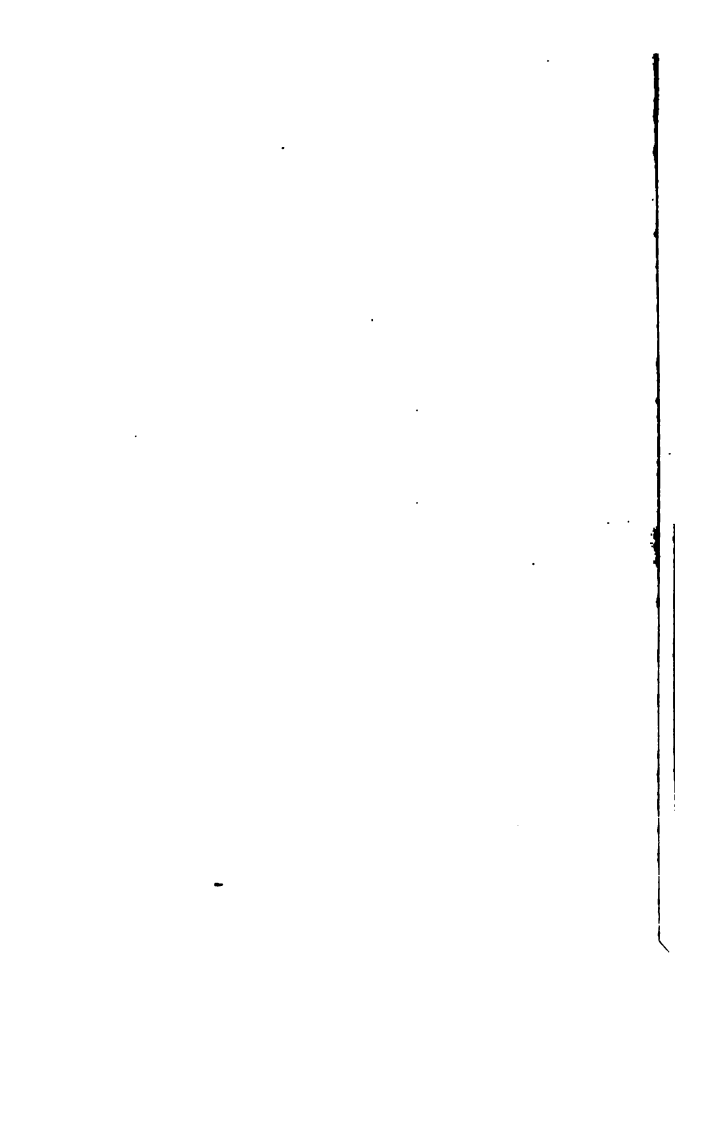
of her numerous biographers, with singular bad taste, and with a total disregard of the fact that she was led out

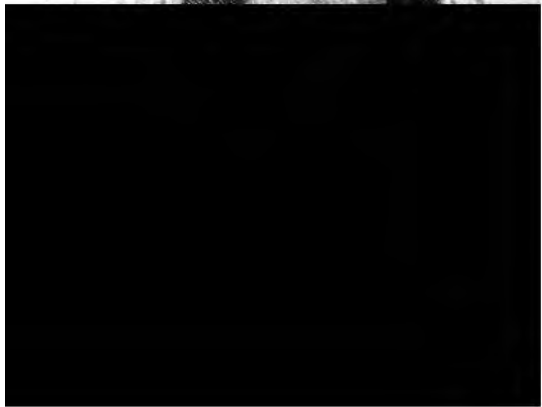
to execution immediately after Lord Guildford's body passed her dungeon window, have attributed to her three

epigrams on her husband's headless body, one in Greek, one in Latin, and the third in English. We should wish

to deduct from her acknowledged compositions the controversial letter written to the released friend. Dr.









THOMAS CRANMER was the son of a gentleman of Nottinghamshire, who traced his descent from one of the followers of the Conqueror. He was born at Aslacton, in that county, on the second day of July, 1489 : and it is stated that so recently as the year 1790, traces might be seen of the walks and pleasure-grounds which belonged to the mansion of his fathers. Tradition also long pointed out a small rising ground or mount in the immediate neighbourhood of the house, from whose summit the future primate of England was accustomed to survey the beauty of the surrounding scenery, and to hearken to the music of the village bells. These memorials have disappeared : and although such traditions are of little biographical value, they are interesting as indicating the sort of circumstances by which plain but not unpoetical minds imagine that the early footsteps of an illustrious man should be traced.

Young Cranmer received his rudiments of instruction from "a rude parish clerk," under whom he learnt little ; while the harsh disposition of his schoolmaster subjected him to much painful discipline. Although his father intended that he should have the advantages of a

learned education, he was not willing that he should be ignorant of the exercises in which a gentleman was, in that age, expected to be proficient. He permitted him to shoot, to hunt, to hawk, and to ride unbroken horses; so that even when he became archbishop, he was able to mount without hesitation, and to ride becomingly the roughest horses that came into his stables. It is added by Strype, that notwithstanding very defective sight, he could "shoot in the long-bow, and many times kill the deer with his cross-bow."

Cranmer lost his father early: but his excellent mother carried out the intentions which her husband had formed, in pursuance of which, when her son had reached the age of fourteen years, which was in 1503, she sent him to Jesus College, Cambridge. Of this society he was elected Fellow in 1510 or 1511. Much of the intervening period had been consumed upon the scholastic divinity which in that age formed the predominant study at Cambridge. After his election to the fellowship, his studies took a wider and more liberal range. The writings of Erasmus began by this time to be received with favour in England, especially by the younger scholars, and to open up the minds which had been more or less absorbed in the subtle vagaries of the school.

note, by the actual transcription of shorter passages, and by references to and abstracts of such as were too long to be conveniently transcribed. Yet he was careful that this should not supersede the exercise of his memory and judgment; but the collections formed by this pains-taking mode of study were of great value to him in the controversies in which he was afterwards engaged.

This course he followed till he took his degree of Doctor in Divinity in 1523, when he was in the thirty-fourth year of his age.

About ten years before this, that is, when he was in the twenty-third year of his age, being then Master of Arts, he vacated his fellowship by marriage with a lady who is described by Strype as "a gentleman's daughter." She was, however, related by affinity to the wife of the person who kept the Dolphin Inn, at Cambridge; and for this reason Cranmer, instead of procuring apartments for her elsewhere, allowed her to reside in that house with her kinswoman, and there openly resorted to her society. This arrangement, however convenient or unobjectionable it might have seemed to a studious man then little conversant with the world, ill suits the ideas of refinement and delicacy which society has now formed, and which it somewhat unreasonably exacts from men of a past and less cultivated age. Even in that age, however, Cranmer's proceedings did not escape animadversion, and it became the foundation of the idle story that he, for some time, acted as hostler of the Dolphin Inn.

Although Cranmer's marriage lost him his fellowship, it did not disqualify him from the office of college reader or lecturer, and to that office he was actually appointed in Magdalen College, then called Buckingham College, and previously Monks' College, because monks resorted to it. Here he lectured with distinction and success, but in what faculty is not known, though there can be little doubt that it was in divinity.

The loss of his wife a year after his marriage, enabled Cranmer's own college of Jesus to testify its appreciation of his great merits, by the rare and very remarkable

course of re-electing the widower to the fellowship he had forfeited by his marriage. He was thus enabled to resume and carry on without interruption the studies which have already been described. In gratitude for this mark of esteem, he some years after declined to desert his college, when tempted to do so by the offer of a better preferment in Wolsey's new college of Christ Church at Oxford. The invitation is, however, a fair sign of the estimation in which his attainments and abilities were already held.

Soon after taking his doctor's degree, Cranmer was appointed to the divinity lectureship in his own college; and in the university to that of public examiner in theology. In this capacity he did much good, at the cost of some immediate dissatisfaction, by turning back all those candidates for divinity degrees who appeared notoriously ignorant of the sacred Scriptures; for at this time it was not unusual for men deeply read in school theology, and aspiring to the degrees of bachelor and doctor in divinity, to be without any direct acquaintance with the Book upon which the whole system of Christian faith and doctrine is built.

While he was thus employed, about the year 1529, an epidemical disorder, with many symptoms like the



anxious to obtain his opinion on the question which then agitated the court and country, respecting the validity of the king's marriage with his brother's widow, Catherine of Aragon—or rather whether the Pope had the power of rendering such a marriage valid by the dispensation which he had given. His opinion on this point was not known; for he had been absent from Cambridge when the question had been sent to the university, which it had answered in favour of the validity of the marriage under the Pope's dispensation.

Cranmer declared that the subject was one to which he had not felt it necessary to give any close attention. But he indirectly made light of any validity which the marriage, if in itself unlawful, could derive from the dispensing power of the Pope. He said that it seemed to him the validity or invalidity of the marriage must be determined by Scripture; and the sense of Scripture in the matter might be most satisfactorily collected by taking the opinions of the divines in the universities of Europe upon this simple question, "Whether it was lawful to marry a brother's wife?" The protracted and costly processes which were otherwise necessary might thus be spared; and if the judgment of the Universities were in accordance with the king's wishes—that is, against the marriage—he might then with a satisfied conscience act upon that decision without any further reference to Rome. This is obviously the purport of his advice, which may be collected from the different reports of it. The counsel given by Cranmer was not absolutely new; but it had not before been produced with the same degree of distinctness and weight of authority.

As this opinion was entirely in accordance with that of Gardiner, if not of Fox, the king was made acquainted with it two days after at Greenwich. He was at once struck by the prospect which it offered of bringing to a satisfactory conclusion the difficulty which vexed his life; and exclaimed "Where is this Doctor Cranmer? I perceive he hath the right sow by the ear!" A messenger was immediately dispatched for him; but he was *so far from anticipating any results personal to himself*

from the suggestion he had thrown out in an evening's talk, that he had actually departed from Waltham when the messenger arrived. He was found, however, and brought to London—not very willingly, it is said; and on his arrival was introduced to the king. Henry received him graciously, and was very favourably impressed by the learning and ability, and by the grave and modest demeanour, with which he stated his views in regard to the marriage. He commanded him to lay aside from that hour all other business, and devote his whole attention to this great matter. He was directed to digest his views carefully in writing; and that he might do so undisturbed, he was consigned to the care of the Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, who was ordered to afford him suitable entertainment at Durham Place. As this nobleman was the father of the Lady Anne Boleyn—who was already known to be the intended queen in case the marriage with Catherine should be declared invalid—the choice of a host for Cranmer was unfortunate, as it subjected him to the suspicion of being placed under an undue and partial influence. But in other respects the choice was suitable, the Earl of Wiltshire being the friend of Erasmus, a patron of learning and learned men, and generally regarded as one of the most learned and

startling question, whether he was prepared to maintain these positions before the Bishop of Rome himself; and when Cranmer answered that he was quite ready to do so, Henry declared that it was his intention to send him thither.

From this time the intercourse between the king and Cranmer was frequent; and the readiness with which, through the ample resources of his learning, he had been enabled to execute the task entrusted to him, fully established him in the royal favour and confidence. It is probably not long after this that he was appointed to the archdeaconry of Taunton, and was presented to a parochial benefice, the name of which has eluded the research of his biographers.

Wide circulation was given throughout Europe to the treatise of Cranmer, by way of preparing the minds of university divines for the consideration of the questions about to be proposed to them, and the next year, 1530, a royal commission was sent abroad to collect their suffrages. This commission was composed of the Earl of Wiltshire, Cranmer, Lee, archbishop elect of York; Stokesley, bishop elect of London; Tregonel, Karn, and Benet, doctors of laws. The commission first directed their course to France, and from thence passed on to Italy, and afterwards to Germany, leaving Cranmer alone at Rome, to dispute the matter at the Papal court. Here he remained some months, and was treated with courtesy and respect, but strove in vain to bring to an issue a question which brought the pope's dispensing power into dispute, and which could not be determined satisfactorily to Henry without offence to the Emperor, who took much interest in the matter, seeing that Catherine of Aragon was his aunt.

The decisions of the French and Italian universities were in accordance with the opinions which Cranmer had promulgated; but those of the German universities were less favourable, being more under the influence of the Emperor. The Lutheran universities, indeed, were *ready enough to deny the dispensing power of the pope as to a matter clearly prohibited by Scripture, but they*

for he soon returned to England, and was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, March 30th, 1533. The oath of fidelity to the pope he took under protest, "that he took it in no sense but such as was wholly consistent with the laws of God, the king's prerogative, and the statutes of the realm; that he did not thereby bind himself from speaking his mind freely in matters of religion, the government of the church, and the rights of the crown; and that he meant on all occasions to oppose the illegal authority of the pope, and to condemn his errors."

Soon after his advancement, Cranmer was called upon to act as judge in the painful matter of the divorce; for the king, fortified by the opinions collected from the universities, determined to bring the matter to a close without any further reference to Rome. Accordingly, he presided officially in a Consistory held at Dunstable, in which Queen Catherine, in default of her appearance, in answer to the summons sent to her, was pronounced contumacious, and a final sentence of divorce was passed. The matter was, in fact, urgent, for the king had before this privately married the Lady Anne Boleyn, and a prospect had arisen of her giving birth to a child, whose rights might be seriously affected by further delay. A



Romanism than as regarded the subject of the ecclesiastical power of the pope in this country. His dogmatic theology was ever on the great point of transubstantiation in accordance with that of Rome; and he regarded those who disputed it—the Sacramentarians, as they were called—as heretics; and no one at that time doubted that heretics ought to be punished even unto death, to deter others from their soul-destroying errors. Even those who suffered, admitted this doctrine, and denied only that their own opinions were to be treated as heretical. It is scarcely to be regarded as a charge against Cranmer, that he had not realized those views of toleration which were the growth of a later age, and which no man in his time entertained. From constitutional mildness of disposition and aversion to blood-shedding, he would not be forward in originating proceedings against those whom he regarded as heretics; but he shrunk not from any duty in this matter which his office seemed to impose, and he beheld without disapprobation the severities which some of the bishops of his province exercised. There is the memorable case of John Frith, who was examined before Cranmer and the Bishops of London and Winchester, for those very opinions regarding the sacrament which Cranmer himself eventually entertained, and which were common to all the reformers of the succeeding reign. Frith's views now seemed so "notably erroneous," that after Cranmer had in vain sought to turn him from them in three or four interviews, he was consigned to the tender mercies of his ordinary, Stokesley, Bishop of London; "and now," says Cranmer in one of his letters, "he is at a final end with all his examination; for my lord of London hath given sentence and delivered him to the secular power; where he looketh every day to go unto the fire." He adds quietly, "And there is also condemned with him one Andrew, a tailor of London, for the self-same opinion."

But although, from his treatment of the Sacramentarians, and from the general turn of his conduct and writings, it is very evident that Cranmer did not clear at a single bound the wide difference which was afterwards

established between the Protestantism of the Anglican Church and the prescribed orthodoxy of the Roman communion; it is equally manifest from other parts of his conduct and writings, and especially from his famous Protest, that at the time of his elevation his views were in a state of progress, and that he stood prepared for any further change, whether in doctrine or discipline, which his reading, reflection, or experience might suggest. The reader who has well considered the character of Henry the Eighth, knows that this was just the character and temper of mind suited for carrying on the work of the Reformation under a monarch like this, who remained, doctrinally, a rigid Romanist to the last day of his existence. It is therefore so far from being a disparagement to the master-builder of this cause in England that he was not a Luther, a Calvin, or a Knox—that it is safe to say that their qualities would not have suited the time, the country, and the king; and that their labours, instead of being conducted, like those of Cranmer, with great judgment and discretion to a successful issue, would speedily have been interrupted by death upon the scaffold or at the stake.

The divorce of Queen Catherine, and the marriage

ourable to the recent measures; and Gardiner of
 uester, and Stokesley of London, openly declared
 dissatisfaction. The former was probably not well
 l at the high advancement of one whom he had
 instrumental in introducing to the notice of the
 and although he had vigorously promoted the
 e, he was not prepared for the innovations which
 l impending, and which Cranmer manifested much
 ition to promote. The same was the case with
 ley, who on many occasions conducted himself
 discourteously to the primate. One example of
 remarkable. Cranmer from the moment of his
 cement was most anxious to place the Scriptures
 the people in their own tongue, and the consent
 king having been obtained, the archbishop pro-
 l in this manner: he began with the New Testa-
 and taking Tyndale's translation of it, he divided it
 ine or ten parts, which he caused to be written
 ge and fair in as many paper-books. These books
 t to the most learned among the bishops and other
 astics, with a request that they would give a careful
 n of the parts allotted to them, and return the cor-
 books to him by a given day. When that day
 l, all the books had been returned except Stokes-

On this the primate sent a letter to Fulham, re-
 ag that the book might be sent by the bearer, his
 ury. On receiving this, Stokesley said, "I marvel
 my lord of Canterbury meaneth, that he thus
 h the people in giving them liberty to read the
 ures, which doth nothing else but infect them with
 . I have bestowed never one hour on my portion,
 ver will. And therefore my lord shall have his
 ack again, for I will never be guilty of bringing
 nple people into error." And he accordingly sent
 c in the state in which he received it. Cranmer
 omewhat disturbed at this, as Stokesley had made
 ection when he received the book, and the whole
 er of the thing was grossly insulting to him.
 ere existed, in fact, on the episcopal bench, and in
 her offices of the church, a formidable amount of

hostility to any further changes and improvements. Aware of the opposition he had to expect from this quarter, he was glad when opportunities occurred of promoting the advancement of men more favourable to "the new learning," as it was called, and more willing to accept its consequences. In 1535 he had the satisfaction of consecrating Latimer and Shaxton, one to the see of Worcester, and the other to that of Salisbury; and several other promotions were effected through his influence, tending to weaken the influence of Rome in this country.

The same year was signalized by the advancement of Thomas Cromwell to the office of vicar-general to the king, as head of the church, in all ecclesiastical affairs. The powers given to him were very great; and in his official capacity precedence even over the archbishop was assigned to him. He was, however, on good terms with Cranmer, was himself well inclined to "the new learning," and was fully disposed to employ his authority in carrying on the great ecclesiastical revolution in which so much progress had been already made. This vast power was first applied to the visitation and suppression of the monasteries, and to the confiscation of their re-



after implicated, by the obligations of his office, in the tyrannical and heartless proceedings of the king against Anne Boleyn. The question of her guilt or innocence can perhaps never be satisfactorily determined, unless documents not known to be now in existence should hereafter be brought to light. There is every reason to believe that much of what was laid to her charge could not be true; but the best friends of her memory must admit that much of her demeanour, although very probably no more than the result of mere thoughtlessness and natural buoyancy of temper, very ill became the high station to which she had been raised. On her degradation, all her old friends and adherents forsook her, lest they should be involved in her ruin. There was but one exception—Cranmer alone ventured, as far as the impetuosity of the royal savage permitted, to endeavour to moderate the violent prejudices entertained against her. The delicate management with which, in his letter to the king, he strove to produce a re-action in her behalf, and to convey his own testimony in favour of her character, will be best understood and appreciated by those who have the most carefully studied the position in which he stood, and the character of the man whom he sought to influence. This well-meant endeavour was unavailing; sentence of death was pronounced against her; and the dread of death having extorted from her a pretended confession of some lawful impediments to her marriage with the king, the archbishop was constrained to pronounce the marriage null and invalid on that plea. That he performed this duty of his office with an aching heart, we may readily believe; but he could not have evaded it without laying down his bishoprick; and he appears to have thought that her life might by this measure be preserved; for it did not appear how the penalties of high treason could be enforced against one whose marriage with the king was thus declared to have been invalid. But Henry, whose character was not then so well known as it afterwards became, did not stand upon such nice distinctions, and all the grace he would allow was that she should not perish at the

stake, but that the fair head which he had once thought worthy of a diadem should roll in blood upon the scaffold. The best vindication of Anne Boleyn's memory is that which the king himself offered *the next day*, when, in violation of the commonest decencies of life, he led her successor, the Lady Jane Seymour, to the altar.

The influence of Cranmer lay on deeper foundations than many had hitherto supposed; for it was soon seen that the death of Anne Boleyn, which was hailed as a triumph by the papal party, did not in any degree affect the power of the archbishop, or impede the cause to which he was devoted. Of that cause, the whole weight may be said to have rested at this time upon him, for neither Latimer, Shaxton, nor Barlow (of St. David's), were well suited to be active coadjutors therein. Of Latimer we shall presently have occasion to speak. No one valued the fine qualities of this good man more than did the archbishop, but it is easy to perceive that he dreaded more damage in those critical times from his indiscretion, than he hoped advantage from his counsel. As the single leader, he managed the great interests confided to him with a degree of judgment and address which can only be fairly estimated by those

tion from the observance of them. In the doctrine of the real presence he was still a firm believer; and he personally assisted at the disputation which the king personally maintained in favour of it against the unfortunate John Lambert, who suffered a cruel death for the freedom with which he declared his opinions.

In the year 1538 Cranmer was cheered by the completion of an impression of the whole Bible in English, partly under his patronage, in one large folio volume, known by the name of Matthew's Bible. This name was fictitious. The translation was partly by Tyndale and partly by Coverdale; but as the former had suffered martyrdom in Flanders—the primate judged it expedient to set it forth under a name untainted with heresy. This great work the public owed to the enterprise of the printers, Grafton and Whitchurch; and a letter from the former to Cromwell is extant, in which he states that the impression amounted to 1500 copies, and that he had sunk no less than 500*l*.—no small sum for that time—in the enterprise. Cranmer exerted himself greatly in bringing the work into notice, and enforcing the use of it. In a letter to Cromwell he declares that the gift of a thousand pounds would have gladdened him far less than this happy event. Through the vicar-general's influence it was licensed by the king; and a copy was ordered to be affixed to a desk in every parish church. It was received with incredible ardour by the people. Those who had the means purchased it for themselves, while others flocked to the churches to read it or hear it read.

Some time after this the archbishop fell under some displeasure from the opposition which he offered to the spoliation of the revenues of the religious houses. The anti-Protestant party were also successful in urging upon the king the necessity of taking some decided proceeding to show the world that his measures had been taken not against the church, but against the supremacy of the pope. This resulted in the famous act of the *Six Articles*, to which Cranmer gave a decided and powerful opposition, which alone is quite sufficient to rescue

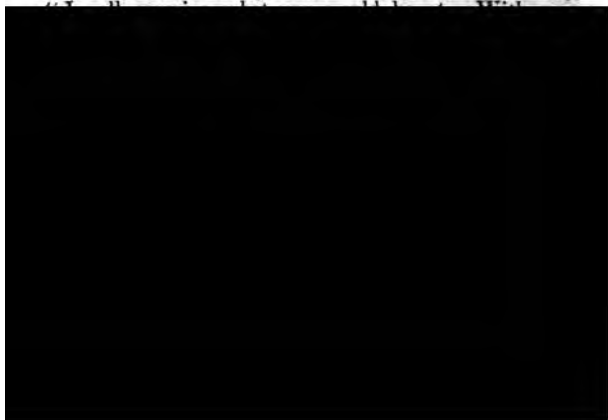
known to him the criminal conduct of the then queen, Catherine Howard. This he imparted to the Lord Chancellor Audley and to the Earl of Hertford, both of whom shrunk from having anything to do in the matter, and left to the archbishop the responsibility of communicating to the king or of suppressing the information he had received. By consulting them, he had put the latter course out of his power. He committed to writing the particulars revealed to him, and delivered the paper to the king on the very day after that in which the monarch had solemnly, in the chapel at Hampton Court, returned thanks to God for the connubial felicity which he enjoyed with his excellent and virtuous queen. The sequel is well known—more victims for the block—more blood upon the page which records the domestic history of Henry VIII.

In the year 1542, a strong effort to ruin the archbishop was made by the Roman party under Gardiner. Various meetings were held, and a variety of charges, amounting together to what was then considered heresy, were digested into a voluminous body of articles against the archbishop. This was sent into the privy council ostensibly from the prebendaries of the archbishop's own cathedral. These documents were soon in the hands of

to the bottom. "A commission there shall be," said the king; "but the archbishop of Canterbury shall be at the head of it, with such colleagues as he may please to appoint." Cranmer remonstrated against this; but the king was inflexible; and the investigation was entered upon without delay. Such a commission could not work well, however; and, seeing this, the king added two other commissioners, who proceeded with vigour and despatch, and brought to light all the dark intricacies of the plot against the primate. Gardiner, by a timely and somewhat abject apology, succeeded in preventing the letters which revealed his share in the confederacy from being laid before the House of Lords; and the prebendaries abased themselves to the very dust before the man they had striven to destroy. Cranmer, with his customary lenity, dismissed them with a mild admonition and his full forgiveness, reminding us of the saying which was current concerning him:—"Do my lord of Canterbury an ill turn, and he is your friend for ever." This was not long after again illustrated when Sir John Gostwick complained in his place in parliament, that the archbishop in his sermons at Canterbury and Sandwich had spoken heretically of the sacrament of the altar. This person did not belong to Kent, and had never heard a syllable from the lips of the person he accused. When the circumstance came to the ears of the king, he flew into a passion, and with small regard for the privilege of parliament, exclaimed, "Tell that varlet Gostwick that he hath played a villainous part to abuse in open parliament the primate of the realm. If he does not instantly acknowledge his fault to my lord of Canterbury, I will make him the poorest Gostwick that ever bore the name. What! does he pretend that, being in Bedfordshire, he could hear my lord of Canterbury preaching in Kent?" On hearing this the poor knight was heartily scared; he flew to Lambeth, and not only secured the pardon of the archbishop, but his intercession on his behalf with the king, who was not without difficulty pacified. In fact, Henry seems at this time to have had a very distinct perception of the dangers which beset the primate

table ; and this he did not neglect on the present occasion.

After the signal defeat which has been described, the enemies of the archbishop no longer durst, during the life-time of Henry, practise against him as a traitor or a heretic ; and they were obliged to be content with low detraction, and with attempting to excite a feeling against him as a mean and avaricious prelate. Sir John Seymour (brother of the future Protector) was among those who ventured to insinuate to the king that the revenues of the primacy were not now employed in maintaining that dignified hospitality which became so eminent a station. The king seemed to take little notice of this at the time ; but some weeks after he found an occasion of sending Sir John over to Lambeth at the hour of dinner. He arrived just in time to witness the becoming splendour and liberality of the archbishop's establishment, and was himself pressed to take a seat among the guests. Penetrating the design of the king in sending him to Lambeth, Seymour, on his return, acknowledged his error, and confessed that next to the king's there was no table in the realm more nobly kept than that of the primate. " Aye," said the king,



Now that we are got into the palace, it may be well to introduce a few particulars which Strype and others have preserved respecting Cranmer's personal habits and manner of life.

The regular and laborious habits of study which he followed at Cambridge were still maintained by him, so far as altered circumstances allowed; and when no urgent business lay before him, it was still his delight to spend three-fourths of the day in study, as had been his wont at college. His ordinary distribution of time was this:—His usual hour of rising was five. The four next hours were commonly given to reading and devotion. The interval between nine o'clock and the hour of dinner (probably twelve, at the latest) was dedicated to public business, the reception of suitors, and to the despatch of matters connected with his ecclesiastical office. After dinner, if any petitioners or suitors remained to be heard, his time was at their disposal, and the least successful seldom departed without reason to extol the patience and lenity of their judge. If no such matters remained, an hour or more was employed by him either in chess, or in looking at those who played that game. He then returned to his study till five; and it was his custom there to pursue his literary labours, not sitting in a chair, but standing at a desk. This practice, which is certainly most conducive to bodily health, and answers some of the purposes of exercise, he had, perhaps, acquired in Germany, where it was and is very common. From five o'clock till supper the interval was occupied, partly in hearing the Common Prayer, and partly in walking or other recreation. At the supper-table the archbishop was often merely a spectator, as his appetite did not always require that meal; and he then sat with his gloves on, conversing with the guests whom his hospitality had assembled. An hour of gentle exercise or cheerful pastime followed; and at nine he went back to his study and there remained till he had retired to rest.

This orderly distribution of his time and habit of constant study enabled Cranmer to make such incessant and

large accumulations of knowledge, that nothing could be more absurd than the charge of ignorance or imperfect learning which was among those which his adversaries sometimes urged against him. He was not a bright or ready man, not inventive, utterly without imagination; but his judgment was strong, his powers of analysis great, and his resources were not only boundless, but effectively produced when allowed to produce them in his own way. This was so well understood by Henry the Eighth, that when he was desirous of having any doubt or question solved, "he would," says Morice, Cranmer's secretary, "but send word to my lord over night, and the next day the king would have in writing brief notes of the doctors' minds, as well divines as lawyers, both old and new, with a conclusion of his own mind; which he could never get in such readiness of any, no, not of all his clergy and chaplains about him, in so short a time. For being thoroughly seen in all kinds of expositors, he could incontinently lay open thirty, forty, sixty, or more some whiles, of authors. And so, reducing the notes of them altogether, would advertise the king more in one day than all his learned men could do in a month . . . And therefore it was that the king said on a time to the bishop of Winchester (Cardinal), the king and my lord

read and well considered. The result of all this, as regards the particular question of the Eucharist, and of an argument on the subject which he held with Ridley, was, that shortly before the death of King Henry he had abandoned the Romish doctrine of the real presence for the view still entertained by the Anglican church. It is indeed stated that he rested intermediately on the consubstantiation of the Lutherans; but of this no satisfactory proof has been produced.

Strype, who was a great lover of books, glazes over the memories of Cranmer's library, which he says was the storehouse of the ecclesiastical writers of all ages, and was freely open to the use of learned men. Here old Latimer, who lived with the archbishop at Lambeth after giving up his bishoprick, spent many an hour, and found some books so remarkable, that he once spoke of the matter in a sermon to the king (Edward VI.). So when Roger Ascham wanted the works of Gregory Nyssen in the original Greek, and could not find the book at Cambridge, he obtained the loan of it for several months from the primate's library. "For in those times," adds Strype, "it was rare to meet with the Greek fathers in their own language, and not spoiled in some ill Latin translation."

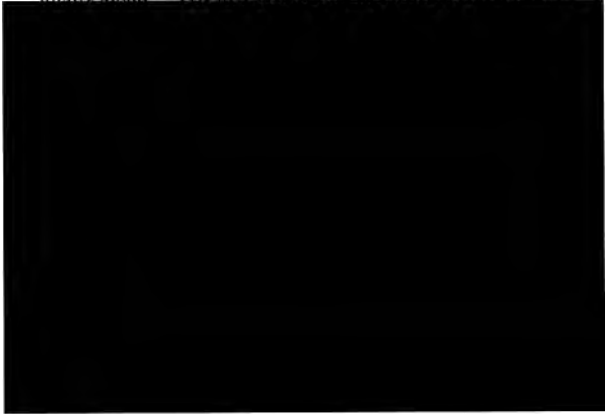
Cranmer is almost the only person, perhaps the only one, whom Henry VIII. had at all times upheld, to whom he had been at all times faithful through good and evil report. This is one of the redeeming points of his character. He died in 1547, and when in his last agonies, sent for Cranmer. By the time the prelates arrived he was speechless; and when asked to give some sign of his hope in God's mercy through Jesus Christ, he could only wring his hand, and then expired.

This event was of great importance to Cranmer, and to the cause in which he had become more and more engaged. The "numbing spell" which had hung over his exertions was removed; and under the young prince, his godson and pupil, who now ascended the throne, he was more free than he ever had been to carry out the objects dear to his heart. To these objects he devoted

himself with the zeal of one who felt that every hour was precious, and yet with a discretion which the time and country required, and which point him out as the man beyond all others suited to the work which had been committed to him. The tendency of all the measures he promoted was to carry forward into more decided Protestantism the mongrel Romanism which had prevailed in the preceding reign. This he accomplished by cautious and well-considered steps, which scarcely kept pace with the expectations and wishes of the continental reformers, particularly of the ardent Calvin, who strove by writing to hurry him on more precipitately; but to whom Cranmer replied with great amenity, justifying his own course of proceeding.

Important as was the position of Cranmer, and signal as were his labours during this reign, few circumstances occur illustrative of his personal history and character. The facts are such as rather belong to the history of his time and of his cause, and in this place need but be very briefly indicated.

By the will of the late king Cranmer found himself at the head of the regency of sixteen, but he rarely interfered in matters of state, taking the lead in ecclesiastical affairs alone. His first object was to settle the supremacy



The severe enactments of the last reign were repealed; and Cranmer found his hands strengthened by the presence of the English reformers, who had taken refuge in foreign countries, and now ventured to return home, and of the learned foreigners who sought refuge from the persecutions of the Continent. Among the former were Coverdale, Hooper, Philpot, and Rogers; and among the latter Peter Martyr, Bucer, Aless, and Fagius, whom he entertained at Lambeth, and afterwards settled in professorships—Martyr, at Oxford, as Regius Professor of Divinity; and Bucer and Fagius at Cambridge. He also patronized John A'lasco, the exiled Polish nobleman, and the congregation attached to him; Sleidan, the historian; Leland, the antiquarian; and, though last not least, Latimer. By intercourse with these eminent men, and by correspondence with Osiander, Melancthon, and Calvin, his own views on many points of doctrine were carried forward to conclusions more and more adverse to those which the Roman Church maintained. It was indeed his ardent wish to promote a general union of all the Protestant churches; but this became every year more and more difficult; and although the project was applauded by the Continental reformers, they could not be prevailed upon to take any effectual steps in furtherance of it.

His advice was generally followed in filling up vacant sees in his province, and to him most of them owed their advancement who in the next reign sacrificed their lives or homes to their principles. On one point he more than once, however, found himself acting rather with the Romish and against the Protestant party; and this was in resisting encroachments upon the revenues of the colleges, and upon the temporalities of sees, which were made or attempted at the instance of the nobles, whose appetite had been whetted rather than satiated by the spoil of the monasteries, and who seem to have regarded this as the best and most essential part of the Reformation. He was also very careful in collating benefices to *adapt the pastor to the flock*: and after his death there *was found among his papers a list of towns endorsed,*

“Memorandum : these towns to have learned ministers.”

The last public act of Cranmer during the reign of Edward regarded the succession of the crown. In this matter he was greatly influenced by the oath he had formerly taken in favour of the Princess Mary, and would not therefore readily consent to her exclusion in behalf of the Lady Jane Grey ; but at length he gave way in compliance with the earnest and pathetic entreaties of the young king himself.

The public sentiment was, however, outraged by the ambitious project of Northumberland, of which that interesting lady was the unwilling tool and became the victim ; and this, with the natural respect of the English people for what they deem rightful authority, speedily cast the innocent usurper from the throne, and seated the Princess Mary on it. She was the daughter of Catherine of Aragon, and was known to be not only a most devoted adherent of Romanism, but to harbour a most implacable resentment against all those who had been instrumental in procuring or facilitating her mother's divorce. When therefore she came to the throne, in 1553, Cranmer saw that it was time for him to set his

brate mass at the burial of the late king, and that he had already caused the mass to be restored in Canterbury, he felt himself bound to contradict it by a public declaration ; and in the same document he rather throws himself upon danger by volunteering that, with the assistance of Peter Martyr and a few others, he would maintain in public disputation against any man the reformati^ons accomplished in the last reign.

This declaration afforded to his enemies the handle against him which they desired. A copy of it being sent to the queen's commissioners, he was cited to appear before them, and bring an inventory of his goods. It does not appear what was the precise charge against him on this first occasion : but soon after, he was called before the Star Chamber, and, after being severely questioned, committed to the Tower, partly for his late compliance in the alteration of the succession, partly from the bold avowal of his principles ; but chiefly, no doubt, from the inveterate malice which had been conceived against him for the divorce of the queen's mother, the blame of which was wholly ascribed to him, although Gardiner and other bishops had been quite as deeply concerned in it.

Not long after his committal, the friends of Cranmer took occasion of a visit which the queen paid to the Tower, to intercede with her on his behalf, and to request that he might be admitted to her presence. But she would neither hear nor see him.

In parliament he was attainted, and was afterwards adjudged guilty of high-treason at Guildhall. He was then considered as divested of his archbishoprick, and its revenues were placed under sequestration. It was peculiarly distressing to him to be condemned under a charge of treason ; and this induced him to make any submission which might obtain his pardon. His services towards Mary herself during the lifetime of her father had been very great, and this spoke much in his favour ; but no services to herself could blot out her deep remembrance of his exertions in promoting the divorce of her mother ; and this, with the leading part he had taken in the late

reforms, rendered him personally obnoxious to her—the object of her deep dislike. At length, however, this charge of treason was permitted to drop; but he remained in confinement as a heretic.

He might, however, it appears, have saved himself by a timely flight from England, as many other eminent men of the Protestant party, seeing the coming storm, did without scruple. But while he fully approved of this course in them, and indeed advised it, he deemed that it would better become one who had been the prime mover in the changes which had become so obnoxious, to hold his ground to the last.

He remained for some time in the Tower without any further step being taken against him. But he was at length summoned to appear before the convocation, which having met at St. Paul's, was adjourned to Oxford. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was the question proposed to be settled in this convocation.

To Oxford Cranmer was accordingly conducted by Lord Williams of Thame, together with his companions in misfortune, Latimer and Ridley, who, with Bradford, had been confined in the same small apartment with him in the Tower. Up to this time they had all been treated with some respect whatever they wanted had been

prolocutor then opened the proceedings in an harangue, in which, after expatiating upon the necessity of unity in the church, he turned to Cranmer, and lamented that he, who had been once a Catholic man, should have made a lamentable breach in that unity, not merely by teaching erroneous doctrines, but by setting forth a new faith every year. It was however the earnest desire of the queen that he should, if possible, be recovered from his schismatical separation; and she had therefore charged them with the office of reclaiming him. The three questions chosen for discussion were then read; and they were so framed as to affirm the well-known Romish views respecting the real presence, transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of the mass.

Receiving the paper, Cranmer joined the prolocutor in a most ardent desire for Christian unity, "when it can be obtained with a good conscience." Then reading over the articles with care three or four times, he shook his head, and said he feared that this paper afforded a very insufficient basis for the religious unity which all so much desired. The ready and accomplished Ridley in this case would at once have launched forth in answer to these articles: but Cranmer, as our previous knowledge of his habits of mind would lead us to expect, said that if the articles were left with him, he would undertake to be prepared with a full answer in writing by the next morning. This was allowed, together with the use of such books as he might require, and he was then conducted back to the Bocardo. During the whole of this proceeding the demeanour of Cranmer was grave, modest, and respectful; and as he stood—a pale and enfeebled old man, in a plain habit, leaning upon his staff, many of those who had known him in his prosperous days, and saw how confinement and ill-usage had banished the glow of health from his cheek, and subdued his once brisk and active step, were moved even to tears, although they differed from him in opinion.

Cranmer sent in his answer the next day, which was *Sunday*; and *Monday* was appointed for the discussion with him of the question on which the parties differed;

Ridley was to have Tuesday, and Latimer Wednesday, for the same purpose. The mockery of all disputation under such circumstances must be apparent—seeing that to one party death must be the penalty of opposition, whatever be the success of the argument. Such odds are fearful. In other respects the discussion was managed with great disadvantage to the sufferers. Cranmer complained of the shortness of the time allowed: and claimed the privilege of opposing as well as of answering. But all was in vain. Sentence of condemnation was passed against them all on the 20th of April. But it was not executed, for the incompetency of the tribunal having become apparent, it was resolved to reserve them for a new trial when the pope's authority in the land should be formally re-established. Meanwhile, however, they were still treated as convicted criminals. Cranmer remained in custody in Bocardo, and the two others were severally consigned to the charge of public officers of Oxford, who kept them "in ward" in their houses. Seventeen months elapsed before a new Commission was issued for the trial of Latimer and Ridley. After their condemnation, the proceedings against Cranmer commenced, under a more solemn process which his metropolitan dignity was considered to demand: for according to the

commission had derived its powers from the crown instead of from the see of Rome, he would instantly have acknowledged them with all becoming deference. In fact he denied the competency of the tribunal; but in answer to the matters laid to his charge, he entered into a vindication of his conduct and character, and re-asserted and enforced all his obnoxious opinions. The commission could not pronounce his condemnation, but an official report of the proceedings was despatched to Rome. This procedure closed September 13, 1554; but before they commenced this, Cranmer had received a citation dated September 7, commanding him to appear at Rome in the course of eighty days, there to answer for himself in person before the pontiff. This was of course only a form, as his imprisonment rendered obedience impossible; but it had the effect of delaying the execution during that period.

Not long after Cranmer was sent back to prison to await the final sentence from Rome, his friends Latimer and Ridley were led past his prison to that fiery ordeal through which they so gloriously passed. As they went by, they looked up to catch his eye; but he was at that moment engaged in a discussion with the friar de Soto, who had been sent to argue with him; yet he afterwards surveyed the distant execution from the top of the north-gate, and offered up his prayers to God that they might be supported in their mortal agonies.

On the 29th of November, the eighty days appointed for his appearance at Rome had elapsed. On the 4th of December, at the instance of Cardinal de Puteo, he was sentenced to excommunication, and deprived of the archbishoprick. The final executory letter of the pope was dated December the 14th. It alleged, that having been cited to Rome, and having taken no care to appear, he had incurred the guilt of contumacy; and it then proceeded to declare him guilty of heresy and other enormities, for which causes he was declared to be excommunicated; and Bonner, Bishop of London, and Thirlby, *Bishop of Ely*, were charged to degrade him from his archbishoprick, and then deliver him over to the secular

arm. No attempt was made to put this mandate into execution till the 14th of February, 1556, when Cranmer was summoned to appear before the papal delegates in St. Mary's Church. He was there invested with a coarse imitation of the archiepiscopal robes and insignia, which were successively removed by the delegates—by Thirlby with gentleness and pity, but by Bonner with coarse brutality and scornful jests. This miserable pageantry was concluded by the exhibition of the primate in his doublet, over which was contemptuously cast the threadbare gown of a yeoman bedel, with a townsman's cap upon his head; while Bonner insultingly exclaimed, "Now, 'you are my lord' no more:" and in addressing disparaging remarks regarding him to the people, as he did repeatedly, he marked the distinction by emphatically indicating him as "*This gentleman here.*" Cranmer bore all this very meekly, save that he hesitated when they attempted to take the mock crosier from him; and that he put in a written appeal to a general council against these proceedings.

It now seems to have entered the minds of the dominant party that their work would be incomplete unless they could by some means prevail upon the great leader



possessed the good will of the nobility; and that besides but of his own creating existed to the re-
of his former dignity, or, if he liked it better, to
sing his remaining days in honourable retirement.
pily they prevailed. The sudden return to social
urce and comfort, after so long confinement and
n, dissipated his firm resolves, and rekindled his
life; and, in an evil hour, he put his name to a
expressing his assent to the disputed tenets of the
Church.

recantation was immediately printed and widely
ted, and the triumph of the Romanists was com-

they knew not how to use the triumph they had

No greater benefit to their cause could possibly
—no greater damage to the name and influence of
er could be inflicted, than by suffering him to live
retirement, or in prison, with no opportunity of
ing a signal re-action in his favour, and of wiping
a deep stain which that ink had shed upon his

They resolved that he should perish, notwith-
ing the great promises which had been held out to

ore he knew this—almost as soon as the act had
committed, remorse for the deed began to prey
Cranmer's mind. "I have denied the faith—I
pierced myself through with many sorrows," were
the words in which his contrition found vent.
he who had been the leader, and should have stood
example unto others, should have thus apos-
, was to him a dreadful thought; and he saw no
of retrieving the error into which he had fallen,
pletely was he in the hands of those who tri-
ed in the ruin of his character and influence. Hap-
or his name and honour, the deep and blind malice
enemies afforded him the most glorious opportu-
nat could be desired.

to the 29th of March, the day previous to that
or his execution, he had received no notice of it;
was visited on the evening of that day by Dr.

Cole, who indirectly intimated to him his approaching doom. He forthwith proceeded to prepare himself for this great consummation of his fears and hopes ; and employed the rest of the evening in drawing up a repentant speech and a prayer, together with a full confession of his apostacy.

It had been intended that he should be taken directly from prison to the stake ; but as the day proved wet and stormy, it was concluded that all the preparatory ceremonies should take place under cover. Accordingly, about nine o'clock in the morning, Lord Williams received him at the prison gate and conducted him to St. Mary's Church. Here a sermon was preached by Dr. Cole, who strove to vindicate the execution notwithstanding the recantation ; desired the hearers to take warning by the example ; and exhorted Cranmer to bear his last worldly trial with fortitude. Having concluded his sermon, the preacher turned round and desired those present to join with him in silent prayer for the unhappy man before them. A solemn stillness ensued, during which every eye and every hand were lifted towards heaven. Cranmer, who had also fallen on his knees, then arose in all the dignity of affliction, and addressed

nious action ; that it hath cost me many bitter tears ; and that in my heart I totally reject the pope and the doctrines of the church of Rome."

Amazement and confusion filled the assembly as these words fell from him ; and rage rose high in many bosoms. Some vehemently cast his dissimulation in his teeth. But he mildly answered, " Always since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood and lover of simplicity, and never before this have I dissembled." He proceeded to speak in support of his real opinions, which threw the whole assembly into an uproar ; and, at a signal from Cole, several priests and friars rushed forward from different parts of the church with great eagerness, and hurried him out of the church and along the streets to the place of execution. This was the same spot, in front of Balliol College, where Ridley and Latimer had suffered. On arriving here Cranmer knelt down, and prayed to God. He then laid aside his garments to his shirt, and stood ready for death. As he thus stood, his shirt reached down to his feet, which were bare. His head, also uncovered, appeared entirely bare, so that not a single hair could be seen upon it : but his beard was long and thick, giving to his countenance a most venerable aspect. Many, both friends and enemies, were moved, even to tears, at this sad spectacle.

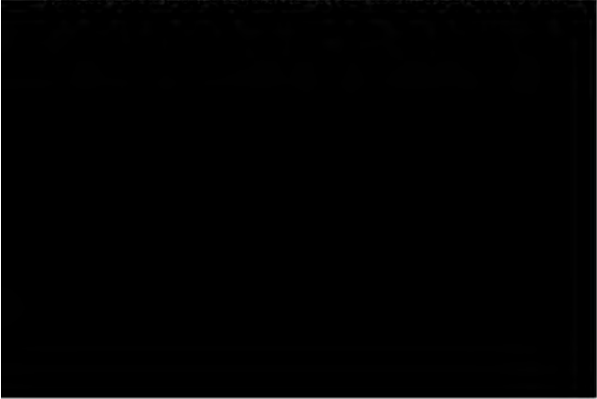
The executioners were ready, and in a little time he stood chained to the stake, with the faggots piled in around him. He had discharged a great duty ; he had disburdened his conscience ; and he stood amid the implements of death with a serene and composed countenance, while bitter taunts and loud revilings poured in upon him from many of those into whose hands he had fallen. But he continued looking with eyes full of benignity, and gave his hand to some old men that stood by, bidding them farewell. At length the torch was put to the pile, and he was presently involved in a burst of smoke and flame ; but on the side next the wind, he was distinctly seen, before the fire reached him, to thrust his right hand into it, and to hold it there with astonish-

ing firmness, crying out, "This hand hath offended! this hand hath offended!"

It was soon over. The flames rose intensely around him, and a thick smoke enveloped him; so that life must have been speedily extinct.

Thus perished Thomas Cranmer, in the 67th year of his age, and after he had presided over the English Church twenty years. The view which we take of his character has been indicated in the course of the narrative, and requires no separate exhibition.

"Of all the martyrdoms during this great persecution," remarks Southey, "this was in all its circumstances the most injurious to the Roman cause. It was a manifestation of inveterate and deadly malice toward one who had borne his honours with almost unexampled meekness. It sufficiently disproved the argument on which the Romanists rested, that the constancy of our martyrs arose not from confidence in their faith, and the strength which they derived therefrom; but from vain-glory, the pride of consistency, and the shame of retracting what they had so long professed. Such deceitful reasoning could have no place here: Cranmer had retracted, and the sincerity of his contrition for that sin was too plain to be denied, too public to be concealed."









HUGH LATIMER was born at Threaston in Leicestershire, about the year 1484.* In one of his sermons before King Edward, he says himself,—“My father was a yeoman, and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pounds by the year, at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled as much as kept half a dozen men. He had a walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able, and he did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king’s wages. I can remember that I buckled his har-

* The year of his birth is not known. Some place it in 1470, which must be too early; others in 1491, which must be far too late. The date of 1484 has been chosen, after carefully balancing all the evidence. If 1491 were taken, he could not in 1497 have been old enough to buckle his father’s harness, nor of such advanced years at his death, as all accounts agree in stating; and if 1470, he would have been older than incidental statements allow.

activity, and in a manner that could not fail to attract the public attention. He employed himself in visiting the sick and the prisoners in the town of Cambridge. He preached frequently, both in English and *ad clerum*. The account given of his sermons in the university by Becon, who heard them, is, that none, except the stiff-necked and uncircumcised in heart, "ever went away from his preaching without being affected with a strong detestation of sin, and moved unto all godliness and virtue." Many also who had been strongly prejudiced against him, on being persuaded by their friends to go and hear him preach, returned from his sermons with all their prejudices softened. In his Sermon on the Card, by a sort of homely ingenuity, he made even the practice of card-playing subservient to religious instruction. In this sermon, preached the Sunday before Christmas 1529, he dealt out to the audience cards from the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters of Matthew, accompanying them with an application to the superstitious practices of the time. "This blunt preaching," Fuller well remarks, "was in those dark days admirably effectual, which would justly be ridiculous in our age;" and he gives an instance of a preacher in his day who produced

underneath the pulpit, with his cowl about his shoulders. In the course of his reply, he not only showed the great absurdity of his opponent in assuming such misapplications of Scripture as he had alleged, but exposed, with considerable felicity of sarcastic illustration, the groundlessness of such fears that the figurative language of the Bible should be misunderstood:—"For example," he said, looking at the place where the friar sat, "when painters represent a fox preaching out of a friar's cowl; no one takes this for a real fox, but only for a caution to beware of hypocrisy, craft, and dissimulation." On another occasion West, bishop of Ely, wishing to judge of Latimer's preaching, came suddenly to St. Mary's Church, when he was in the midst of his sermon. Without any appearance of surprise Latimer made a pause till the bishop and his retinue were seated, and then, with remarkable courage and presence of mind, said, that a new and more honourable auditory required a new theme; and he then proceeded from the text *Christus existens Pontifex futurorum bonorum*, etc., to set forth our Saviour as the true pattern of all bishops. On this theme he discoursed with so much wisdom and eloquence that the bishop after the sermon thanked him for it, declaring that he had never before heard the duties of the episcopal office so ably set forth. He added that he should much wish to hear him preach one sermon in the same place against Martin Luther and his doctrine. Latimer replied:—"My lord, I am not acquainted with the doctrine of Luther, nor are we here permitted to read his works: and therefore it were but a vain thing for me to refute his doctrines, not understanding what he hath written, nor what opinions he holdeth. Sure I am, that I have preached to you this day no *man's* doctrine, but only the doctrine of God, out of the Scriptures: and if Luther doeth no more than I have done, there needeth no confutation of his doctrine. Otherwise, when I understand that he doth preach against the Scripture, I will be ready with all my heart to confound *his doctrine as much as lieth in me.*" To this discreet, and yet faithful answer, the bishop replied: "Well,

well, Master Latimer, I perceive that you smell of the pan. You will repent this gear one day." And from that day forward he was among the most active of Latimer's enemies, and eventually forbade him to preach in the churches of the University. He was however befriended by Dr. Barnes, prior of the Augustin Friars, who, having an independent jurisdiction, licensed him to preach in the church of the Augustines. He was also comforted by the presence of Bilney, who continued to reside at Cambridge. These two were constant companions in their walks, insomuch that the place which they frequented was afterwards called, from their joint resort to it, Heretics' Hill.

The machinations of Dr. West and other potent adversaries of the "new learning," seemed at length to be crowned with success; for Latimer was summoned to answer the charge of heresy before Cardinal Wolsey. His examination, however, ended in the signal defeat of his accusers; for the Cardinal was so much impressed with his learning and readiness, that he declared that, "If the Bishop of Ely could not abide Latimer's doctrine, he should nevertheless preach it even to his beard." He was accordingly dismissed with honour, tempered by a gentle admonition, and with the cardinal's



before the king at Windsor, at the recommendation of Dr. Butts, the royal physician. The king is said to have "greatly praysed Master Latimer's sermon;" and the preacher received five pounds for his services.

Latimer then returned to Cambridge and remained there pursuing his usual course of duty, till he was selected as one of the twelve of "the best learned in divinity in that university," who, in obedience to a royal letter, were sent to London, to meet an equal number of divines from Oxford, in order to give their advice and judgment respecting certain books which had then got into circulation. The deliberations of this learned body resulted in the drawing up of an "Instrument for the abolishing and inhibiting of the Scripture and divers other books to be read in English;" which was followed by a royal proclamation "inhibiting all English books either containing or tending to any matters of Scripture." Latimer had not concurred in the conclusions to which this assembly of divines arrived. It was the determination of the majority, to which he and two or three others were opposed. It was no doubt to his reluctance to be considered as responsible for a determination opposed to his convictions that we owe his famous letter to the king—a long and free-spoken epistle in which he boldly warns the king of the legion of flatterers who laid siege to his greatness, and protested against the suppression of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. Henry, with all his faults, had a natural love of honesty and plain-dealing; and although he did not think proper to meet the writer's views, Latimer was so far from incurring any danger or displeasure, that he rather won esteem and goodwill by his unwonted freedom and earnestness. He was soon after appointed one of the royal chaplains; in consequence of which he went to court, where he remained some time, during which he often preached in London. In his seventh sermon before Edward VI., he says, that, when he thus first came to court, a great man out of good will advised him—"You must beware, howsoever ye do, that ye contrary not the king; let him have his saying; follow him; go with him."—"Marry,

out upon this counsel ;" adds Latimer. He was far from following it ; but spoke out with his usual frank and confiding boldness. Yet he was not altogether indiscreet : for he says further on :—" It is a good wise verse '*Gutta cavat lapidem non vi sed sæpe cadendo*, the drop of rain maketh a hole in the stone, not by violence, but by oft falling.' Likewise a prince must be turned, not violently ; but he must be won by a little and little. He must have his duty told him ; but it must be done with humbleness, with request of pardon, or else it were a dangerous thing." It was however difficult for a man habitually so open-minded, altogether to avoid offence ; and that he sometimes displeased those who were about the king is evinced by several anecdotes which he relates in his very sermons. He says, " There is a certain man, that shortly after my first sermon, being asked if he had been at the sermon that day, answered, ' Yea.' ' I pray you,' said he, ' how like you him ?' ' Marry,' said he, ' even as I liked him always,—a seditious fellow !' " Again he states that one kneeled down in his presence before the king, and accused him of sedition, on which the king turned to his chaplain and asked, " What say you to this, Sir ?" Latimer then fell on his knees, and after asking some taunting questions of his accuser, he



the Scripture saith:—"The Lord directeth the king's heart!" Certain of my friends came to me with tears in their eyes, and told me they looked I should have been in the Tower the same night."

The court was not however a congenial atmosphere for such a man as Latimer; and he soon grew weary of it, and retired to a living in the country which the king had given to him. This was at West Kingston, in Wiltshire. His conduct in this new situation was marked by the most exemplary fidelity and diligence. He not only laboured strenuously to instruct his own flock, but extended his labours into the country round, under the authority which he enjoyed as one of the twelve preachers licensed by the university of Cambridge to preach throughout the realm. This course of proceeding, together with his views arising out of "the new learning," which he promulgated, speedily roused the country clergy against him, and by reason of their complaints, he was summoned to appear before the Archbishop of Canterbury. He accordingly proceeded to London, and was detained there a considerable time from his parish, to his great vexation and uneasiness. It was winter; and he was now, in addition to his mental suffering, in a state of great bodily pain and weakness. Thrice a week he had to appear before the Commissioners of the Archbishop, to undergo an examination—or rather to suffer the attempts made to argue or to intimidate him into subscribing certain articles favourable to the old superstitions. The Commissioners did not deal fairly with him, as instanced by the fact that a concealed witness was introduced to take down his answers, that he might not afterwards secede from them. He thus relates this in one of his sermons: "I pray you, Mr. Latimer, said one, speak out; I am thick of hearing, and here be many that sit far off. I marvelled at this, that I was bidden to speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney; and, sir, there I heard a pen walking in the chimney behind the cloth. They had appointed one *there to write all mine answers; for they made sure that I should not start from them.*" At length, wearied out

by ill-health and by their importunate way of proceeding, Latimer wrote a letter to Archbishop Wrangham, couched in humble but manly terms, excusing himself from further attendance. It does not appear how this letter was received: but at this time his sufferings attracted the notice of the king, by whose interposition he was rescued from the danger which hung over him. He is considered however to have expressed some kind of compliance with the articles proposed for his subscription, though it remains matter of doubt whether he actually subscribed to them, and if he did so, to what extent. Foxe thinks that he did subscribe through the fear of a sentence of death, his mind not being *then* nerved to the courage of martyrdom: but if it came to that, it does not appear what need there was of the king's interposition on his behalf, seeing that the act of subscription must of itself have sufficed.

Soon after this the primacy was bestowed on Cranmer, who held the zeal and piety of Latimer in sincere esteem, although he does not seem to have had any very high opinion of his discretion in great affairs. We find that he licensed several persons to preach within his province at the sole instance and recommendation of Latimer: he also empowered him to withdraw such licences



to "any special man's facts, acts, manners, or sayings." He adds, "Furthermore, I would that you should so study to comprehend your matter, that, in any condition, you stand no longer in the pulpit than an hour, or an hour and a half at furthest. For by long expence of time, the king and queen shall peradventure wax so weary at the beginning, that they shall have small delight to continue with you to the end."

The kindness which the king had already shown was ere long followed by a more substantial mark of the royal favour. Latimer was held in high estimation by Anne Boleyn, who had become the consort of Henry; and he was by her means introduced to the notice of Lord Cromwell, the Vicar-General, as one calculated to advance the course of the Reformation. She then obtained his concurrence in recommending him to the king, already well disposed towards him, for the see of Worcester, which had been rendered vacant by the deprivation of the Italian bishop who had held it. This promotion, although altogether unsought and unexpected by Latimer, was conscientiously accepted by him; and he was accordingly consecrated Bishop of Worcester, in September, 1535.

In the critical times in which he was cast, it may be doubted whether Latimer was altogether the man for the anxious responsibilities of the episcopal office. His former labours may seem to have been better suited to his temper and character. He could then accomplish great good, without being accountable to any but God and his own conscience for his proceedings; but for a post so high and eminent, in which he must necessarily take a part in the settlement of great matters, and which gave weight and importance to all his words and actions, he incurred a deep responsibility to the cause which he had embraced, and to the *lives* and interests embarked in it, which his want of circumspection and his bluntness of speech but ill qualified him to fulfil. It is but fair to say, however, that during the short period of his episcopate, *his abundant labours in his own diocese were honourable to the man and to the mitre which had been*

bestowed upon him; nor are we acquainted with any of his proceedings when in London which Cranmer himself would not have sanctioned. But Cranmer was then in great want of coadjutors, on whose sound discretion and ripened judgment he could rely; and with regard to this circumstance it may certainly be affirmed, that the advancement of Latimer brought no strength to his hands. The years 1536, 1537, seem to have been spent by Latimer chiefly in settling the affairs of his own diocese; but in 1538 we find him much in London, and taking an active part in many affairs, some of which the friends of his memory would willingly forget. We find him united with Cranmer and another prelate in taking cognizance of "a fanatical doctor" named Crewkehorne. Lambert also, who was afterwards burnt at Smithfield, is mentioned as one of those in the private examination of whom Bishop Latimer was concerned, and against whom he was "most extreme;" and, to crown all, the characteristic zeal he had displayed in this direction, probably induced Cromwell to make choice of him to preach the sermon in Smithfield at the execution of Friar Forest. This alacrity in acting against those whom he regarded as entertaining erroneous opinions, grates painfully upon



was not in his case overlooked, for the king, through Cromwell, signified to him his pleasure that he should resign his bishopric. Latimer accordingly ceased to be Bishop of Worcester on the 1st of July, 1539. It is related, that as soon as he put off his rochet in his chamber, among his friends, he fairly skipped for joy at being released, as he said, from a heavy burden. This shows how onerous the responsibilities of the episcopate must have seemed to a man of his temperament.

It would seem that after the resignation of his bishopric Latimer remained in some sort of confinement, in the house of Dr. Sampson, Bishop of Chichester; and that he remained in this custody till this prelate was himself consigned to the Tower. There is reason for believing that Latimer was then set at liberty; and that although on coming to London for medical advice, having been nearly killed by the falling of a tree, he was subject to some molestation from the bishops and others, yet that he continued at large till 1546. Then, under suspicion of having "counselled or devised with Cromme," he was examined before the Privy Council, and at length cast into the Tower, and was kept there till the accession of Edward VI., in 1547. It would therefore appear that the common account of his having been kept six years in the Tower is incorrect.

When Edward came to the crown, and the Protestant party recovered the ascendancy which it had lost during the last years of Henry's life, Latimer was not only set at liberty, but the restoration of his bishopric was offered to him; but he was determined not again to be troubled with the cares and responsibilities which the office of a bishop at that time involved, and to which he knew himself unsuited. He therefore declined the offer, urging the claims of advancing age to a life of privacy. He did not, however, remain unemployed, for his name appears in a commission, the object of which was to repress heresy; and he was also one of the divines appointed to reform the ecclesiastical law. He is also said to have assisted Cranmer in composing the Homilies, which were set forth by authority in the first year of King Edward's

reign. His manner of life during this period is thus described by the writer of the Dedication to Latimer's 'Sermons on the Lord's Prayer,' which he preached in 1552:—after indicating the kind of labours to which he applied himself after his release from the Tower, this writer says, "In the which his painful travails he continued all King Edward's time, preaching for the most part every Sunday two sermons, to the great shame, confusion, and damnation of a great number of our fat-bellied unpreaching prelates. For he, being a sore bruised man, and above threescore and seven years of age, took, notwithstanding, all these pains in preaching; and, besides this, every morning ordinarily, winter and summer, about two of the clock in the morning, he was at his book most diligently. And besides this, how careful he was for the preservation of the church of God, and the good success of the Gospel, they can bear record, which at that time were in authority, whom continually, by his letters, he admonished of their duties, and assisted with his godly counsel."

During this period he resided chiefly with Cranmer at Lambeth; where much of his time was consumed in attending to the complaints of the oppressed and needy. He speaks of this himself in his second sermon before

of the Reformation, and of his share in the impending calamities. He used to say that the preaching of the Gospel would cost him his life, and that he cheerfully prepared himself for it ; being persuaded that the Bishop of Winchester (Gardiner, then confined in the Tower) was reserved for evil to him.

On the accession of Queen Mary his anticipations were accomplished to the letter. She was scarcely seated on the throne than a pursuivant was sent after him into the country, whither he had once more retired. He was at Coventry, and one Careless, a weaver in that city, gave him timely notice of the arrival of the pursuivant. But although he had good six hours before him, he employed them only in preparations for his journey to London, to the great astonishment of the officer, who found him in perfect readiness to depart, but who, having no orders for his detention, left the citation and went away. From this it has been inferred that the council would have been glad of his escape from the kingdom, lest the persecution of one held in so much veneration by the people should occasion disturbances.

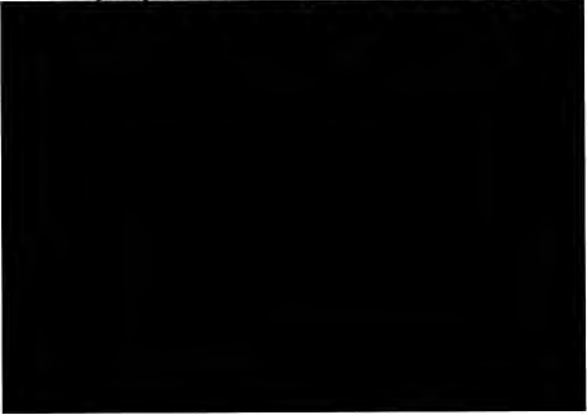
On the 12th of September, 1553, he arrived in London ; and on passing through Smithfield, exclaimed, " This place hath long groaned for me ! " The next day he appeared before the lords of the council, and, in the language of its minutes, was " for his seditious demeanour committed to the Tower." Out of this, writers unfriendly to his cause and memory have chosen to infer that he was committed " on a charge of sedition." The truth probably is that he expressed himself with his customary bluntness and freedom of speech ; that their lordships chose to regard his behaviour as irreverent and contumacious, and that they scrupled not to mark their sense of it by calling it *seditious*—an epithet which we know to have been often applied even to his preaching by those to whom its plain truth was unpalatable.

In the Tower the treatment of Latimer was brutally severe ; but his *sense* of it was expressed with his usual *light-hearted* *pleasantry*. On one occasion he sent to the *Lieutenant of the Tower* a message that " if not better

looked after he should perhaps deceive him." The lieutenant, in great alarm, hastened for an explanation to his prisoner; who replied:—"You look, I think, that I should burn; but unless you let me have some fire, I am like to deceive your expectation; for I am more like here to starve for cold."

He was shortly after removed, together with Cranmer and Ridley, to Oxford, and there subjected to the proceedings which have been already described in the preceding notice of Cranmer. On arriving at Oxford, they were placed together in the common jail called Bocardo, where they were subject to much privation; but were much comforted by the religious conferences which they held together, by reading the Scriptures, and above all by prayer, to which especially they devoted a considerable part of every day, "good old father Latimer" indeed often continuing in a kneeling posture so long that he was unable to rise without help.

When the disputations before the convocation began in April, 1554, Latimer was not brought in till Cranmer and Ridley had successively declared their dissent to the proposed articles, and had retired. He appeared in all the simplicity of his character, with a kerchief and two



was very faint, and desired that he might not be long detained. He then obtained permission to read a written protest against the articles, but being prevented from finishing by the indecent uproar which prevailed, he handed the paper to the prolocutor, who offered to read it for him. After casting his eye over it, he declined to fulfil his promise; but demanded of Latimer whether, as he refused to dispute, he would sign the articles or not. He gave a decided negative; and an attempt was then made to draw him into a disputation. He was attacked by several persons in turn; but although he answered direct questions with civility and patience, they could not induce him to argue questions to which he felt himself unable to do justice. The prolocutor finding him inflexible, at length rose and dissolved the assembly, crying out:—"Ye all see the weakness of heresy against the truth; he denieth all truth, and all the old fathers." Latimer made no reply, but wrapping his gown around him, and taking up his Testament and his staff, he walked out as unconcerned as he came in.

In the interval which passed between this and the appearance before the papal commission in the same place, the friends were separated, Cranmer alone remaining in Bocardo. Ridley was kept in custody in the sheriff's house, Latimer in the bailiffs. Their treatment in their new quarters seems to have been marked both by severity and caprice. They were deprived of the services of their own people; the freedom of communication with each other well nigh ceased. They could not always obtain writing materials or books, they were avoided by the university men, and Ridley wondered that their solitude was not cheered by a single kind office from any one of their brethren in scholarship. The sympathies of the humble and unlettered were much more lively in their behalf, and the townspeople of Oxford as well as many at a distance were most liberal in supplying their necessities by gifts of provisions, clothing, and money. As for Latimer, he employed himself almost exclusively in the repeated perusal of the New Testament. He and Ridley were however sometimes allowed to go and dine with

Cranmer in Bocardo. Strype says he had seen a book of their diet every dinner and supper, and the charge thereof; which was at the expense of Winkle and Wells, bailiffs of the city at that time, under whose custody they were. As for example in this method:—

The first of October, dinner.

Bread and ale	.	.	.	.	iid.
Item, oysters	.	.	.	.	id.
Item, butter	.	.	.	.	iid.
Item, eggs .	.	.	.	.	iid.
Item, lyng .	.	.	.	.	viiid.
Item, a piece of fresh salmon	.	.	.	.	xd.
Wine .	.	.	.	.	iiid.
Cheese and pears	.	.	.	.	iid.

iis. vid.

Strype does not seem to have seen that this was a fast day, and that the prisoners kept, or were obliged to keep, such days in the usual Romish fashion, by abstaining from animal food; for there is no substantial food but fish in the list. Strype further collects from this book of expenses that they "ate constantly suppers as well as dinners. Their meals amounted to about three

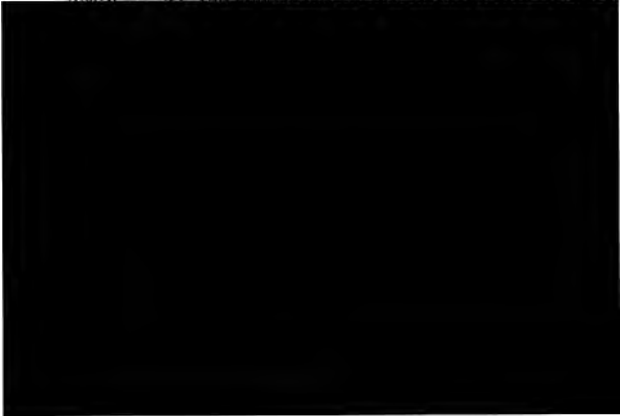
clearly irregular and illegal, it was necessary to wait till the statutes repealed in the time of Edward were re-enacted, and till the realm of England should be formally reconciled to the pope, before a competent tribunal could be established. Hence the delay which has been indicated. At length, in September, 1555, a new commission was sent down to Oxford by Cardinal Pole as legate à latere, to John White, bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Brokes, bishop of Gloucester, and Dr. Holyman, bishop of Bristol, authorising them "to ascite, examine, and judge Master Hugh Latimer and Master Dr. Ridley, pretended bishops of Worcester and London, for divers and sundry erroneous opinions, which the said Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley did hold and maintain in open disputations held at Oxford, in the year of our Lord 1554, as long before, *in the time of perdition, and since.*"

On Monday, September 30, 1555, at eight o'clock in the morning, the commissioners repaired to the divinity school at Oxford, and placed themselves "on the high seat made for public lectures and disputations, according to the usage of that school, being then fair set, with cloth of tissue and cushions of velvet." The prisoners were then sent for, and Ridley presently entered, but Latimer was kept back till after the examination of Ridley had been completed. With that examination it is not our present purpose to speak: but a saying of Dr. Brokes may be noted, as intimating the view which the commissioners, and doubtless others, had taken of their relative position in argument and intellect:—"Latimer leaneth to Cranmer, Cranmer to Ridley, and Ridley to the singularity of his own wit; so that if you overthrow the singularity of

	s.	d.
For three loads of faggots to burn Ridley and Latimer	12	0
Item, one load of furs-faggots	3	4
For a carriage of these four loads,	2	0
Item, a post	1	4
Item, two chains	3	4
Item, two staples	0	6
Item, four labourers	2	8
<i>TOTAL.</i>		<i>H</i>

Ridley's wit, then must needs the religion of Cranmer and Latimer fall also." In the course of his reply Ridley modestly denied the justice of this comparison, as regarded himself and Cranmer: but it is nevertheless true that while Ridley was fully equal to Latimer and superior to Cranmer in firmness of character, he possessed many high qualities of mind which were wanting to both of his companions in trouble.

Ridley having been examined, the commissioners then proceeded with Latimer. He appeared before them in the same attire as on the first occasion, and was again compelled to undergo a most vexatious questioning on the same articles which had been submitted to him on the former examination, and from which he again expressed his dissent. The pope's supremacy was a point also much pressed upon him, but which he disclaimed with a force of reasoning for which the commissioners were scarcely prepared. His age and infirmities were so far considered that he was allowed to be seated; but in other respects he obtained little consideration from the audience. More than once his answers were received with laughter, which caused him to say:—"Why, my masters, this is no laughing matter; I answer upon life and death." At the conclusion of the examination he was



prisoners. Perceiving this, Latimer in his quaint manner placed his hat, which was an old felt one, under his elbows, as he leaned upon the table; and then proceeded to address the commissioners, saying, "My lords, I beseech your lordships to set a better order here at your entrance; for I am an old man, and have an evil back, so that the press of the multitude doth much hurt me." The Bishop of Lincoln promised that attention should be paid to his infirm state; for which he returned thanks with a low bow. A strong and final effort was then made to induce him to recant: but finding that no impression could be made upon him, the sentence of condemnation was somewhat abruptly read, and the proceedings terminated, but not before Latimer had put in an appeal "to the next general council that should be truly called in God's name." He was then committed to the custody of the mayor; and care was taken to prevent his being hurt, as he had been at his entrance, by the pressure of the crowd.

Returning to his prison, Latimer remained closely confined till the 16th of October, the day appointed for the execution. Early in the morning of that day, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, with his retinue, repaired to the open space in front of Balliol College, where this melancholy tragedy was to take place; and to prevent any tumultuous interruptions from the people, the ground was kept by an armed force under the command of Lord Williams. Every preparation being completed, Latimer was brought forth by the mayor and bailiffs, together with Ridley. The contrast exhibited in the appearance of the two sufferers was striking, and excited the liveliest sympathy in the spectators. Ridley, in the prime of life and intellect, radiant with holy hope, and rejoicing in being deemed worthy to shed forth his life in this great cause, came forward with an elastic step, arrayed with care and attention in the costly dress of his rank and order. But poor old Latimer—less visibly excited by the greatness of the occasion—came forth with quiet contentment written on his countenance, and arrayed in the *same frieze gown, kerchief, and buttoned cap which he*

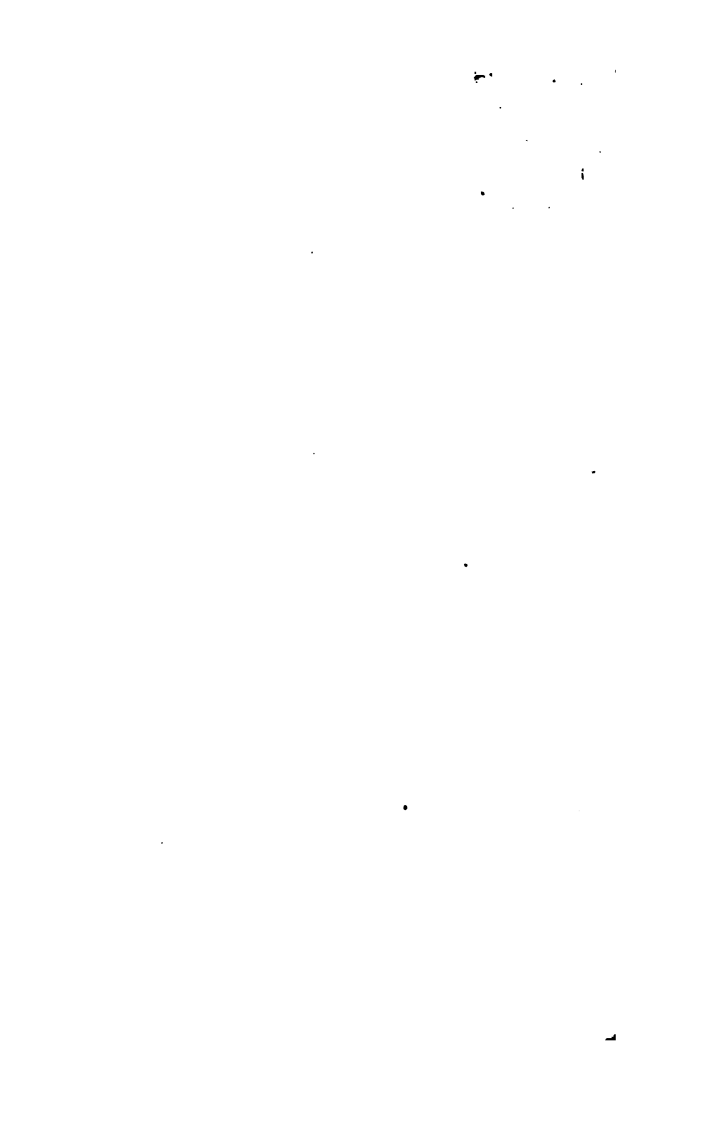
had worn at his trial: but in addition to this, he now wore a new long shroud, which came down over his head to his feet, and marked his preparation for death. Having reached the stake, they affectionately embraced each other, and then kneeled down and prayed; after which they conversed cheerfully together, till Dr. Smith began the appointed sermon. He chose for his text the words —“Although I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing;” and his discourse thereon went to show that the goodness of the cause, and not the manner of death, made the holiness of the person, which he confirmed by the example of Judas, and of a woman who had lately hanged herself in Oxford; and he alleged that, seeing that the persons before him would not save themselves by recanting their heretical opinions, they were in fact their own destroyers. It was an unusually short sermon for that time, not taking more than a quarter of an hour. When it was concluded, Ridley said to Latimer, “Will you begin to answer the sermon, or shall I?” Latimer said, “Begin you first, I pray you.” On which Ridley, with his usual ready mastery of his great resources, addressed himself to the task; but the vice-chancellor and the bailiffs ran hastily to him and stopped his mouth with their hands. This drew from

a view of shortening their sufferings; and all being ready, a blazing faggot was brought and laid down at Ridley's feet. It was at that moment that Latimer addressed to him the prophetic and memorable words, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as I trust shall never be put out." Then, as the flames arose, he cried "O, Father of Heaven, receive my soul!" and received the flames as if embracing them. He was next observed to stroke his face repeatedly with his hands, and, as it were, bathed them in the fire. His head then dropped, and he expired with little if any suffering. The sufferings of Ridley were protracted and terrible: but at length his body slipped through or over the chain to the feet of Latimer, and both were utterly consumed in the fierce heat.

Thus closed the career of Hugh Latimer—a man who wins our admiration for no high attainments or vast capacities of intellect—but who, while he engages our curiosity by some eccentricities of character, wins our true respect, and acquired the great influence he possessed among the people, from whom he sprang, by his plainness of heart, by his simplicity of purpose, by the entire absence of all suspicion of low or selfish aims, and by the earnest and often dangerous intrepidity with which he dared to reprove freely the vices that lurked in high places, where his clear and unambiguous voice pierced like a blast of keen fresh air through the unwholesome and hot haze that gathered round the throne, and that led the conclaves and councils of his time. There is perhaps no one man whose death did more to advance the use of the Reformation in the hearts of the people than that of Latimer. He was exactly the man whom they would appreciate and value: and when, to all his other claims to their love and veneration, the insane folly of the Romish party—which amounted to judicial blindness enabled him to add the greatness which belongs to the man who yields up his life for a principle, his character received that crowning glory which has ever rendered his memory most dear to the English people. The

commanding talents and exalted genius of Ridley more engage the attention of scholars and educated men ; but Latimer has ever been *the* hero of the Reformation with the great body of the people ; and their estimation of him has not inaptly been expressed by the title of "the Apostle of England," which their veneration has conferred upon him,









JOHN KNOX, the Father of the Scottish Reformation, one of the most remarkable of men, both for what he did and what he was—for his personal character as well as for the great transactions in which he was concerned—is notable, among other things, for being an example of that order of ascendant minds in which, whether owing to nature or circumstances, or partly to both, the inherent superiority has not shown itself till comparatively late in life. “Those persons,” says Bacon (in his Character of Augustus Cæsar), “which are of a turbulent nature or appetite do commonly pass their youth in many errors; and about their middle, and then and not before, they show forth their perfections; but those that are of a sedate and calm nature may be ripe for great and glorious actions in their youth.” This is so far applicable to Knox, that he certainly was not “of a sedate and calm nature;” he was not an Augustus Cæsar, without passions, and all judgment, or rather calculation and

craft. But, as in all other cases, the course of events had much to do in determining the time at which what was in him made itself be seen and felt. No force can altogether make its own opportunities. The sun himself must bide his due hour of rising, and cannot always pierce the obstructing clouds.

A consequence of Knox having been thus late in coming forward into the light, is that the first half of his life is very imperfectly known. He was born in 1505, in East Lothian, either in the town of Haddington, or in the neighbouring village of Gifford. His father is believed to have been a descendant of the Knoxes, proprietors of Knock (whence probably the family name), Ranferly, and Graigends, in the parish of Kilbarchan, in Renfrewshire: his mother's name was Sinclair. Besides John, they had at least another son, William, who also ultimately became a preacher in the Reformed Church, but was bred a merchant, and traded on so considerable a scale as in the year 1552 to have one or more vessels of a hundred tons burthen frequenting the ports of England. What is known of both brothers looks as if their father had been in comfortable circumstances, and perhaps possessed, as tradition reports, of some little landed property. Probably William, from his afterwards going into the church, as well as John, received a learned education. John at least, after having acquired the rudiments of classical knowledge at the grammar school of Haddington, was sent in 1522 to the University of Glasgow. It is supposed that he afterwards studied at St. Andrew's, and it has been generally asserted that he took his degree of Master of Arts there; but there does not appear to be any sufficient evidence for the latter of these statements. It is doubtful indeed if he ever graduated. However, it seems to be admitted that, after finishing his academical curriculum, he taught a class for some time in the University of St. Andrew's. His master in scholastic philosophy, the great study of the time, is affirmed in all the old accounts to have been John Mair—in Latin, Major—now best known from his *History of Scotland*, but celebrated in his own day.

one of the chief luminaries of philosophy and theology. These sciences he taught at Glasgow, where he was Principal of the University, till 1523, when he removed to St. Andrew's; and there it is said he had both Knox and Buchanan for his pupils. If that was the case, Knox must have studied not at the College of St. Salvator, as has been commonly assumed, but at that of St. Mary, to which it is known that Buchanan belonged, and where it is supposed that Mair taught before he became Provost, or Principal, of St. Salvator's in 1533.*

Mair had been educated in France, and there he had acquired some opinions, and a mode of thinking, both on political and ecclesiastical subjects, the influence of which is conceived to have acted powerfully upon his two distinguished pupils. "He had imbibed," says M'Crie, "the sentiments concerning ecclesiastical polity maintained by John Gerson and Peter d'Ailly, who so ably defended the decrees of the Council of Constance and

* This is the best account that we can make out of the various statements of Dr. M'Crie in the last edition (8vo. Edinb. 1841) of his 'Life of Knox.' In the earlier editions of his work Dr. M'Crie had stated, in conformity with the common accounts, that Knox was educated at St. Andrew's. In the edition of 1841, which is a reprint of his fifth edition (Edinb. 1831), being the last which he lived to superintend, we are told in the text (at p. 2) that he was sent to Glasgow in 1521, and in the notes (at pp. 381 and 382) that he was entered of that University in 1522. Further confusion and uncertainty are occasioned by other passages having been left standing as in the earlier editions. Thus, without any intimation having been given that Knox had ever left Glasgow, it is stated at p. 8 that he taught philosophy in the University — meaning, as appears afterwards (see p. 23), in the University of St. Andrew's. The late Mr. William M'Gavin, in a sketch of Knox's life prefixed to his edition of the 'History of the Reformation,' Glasgow, 1831, asserts that Knox's matriculation appears in the records of the University of Glasgow under the date of 1520, and claims the credit of having been the first to publish this discovery in his edition of 'The Scots Worthies,' (Glasgow, 1829.) *But there can be no doubt that this is a blunder.*

the liberties of the Gallican Church against the advocates for the uncontrollable authority of the Sovereign Pontiff. He taught that a general council was superior to the Pope, and might judge, rebuke, restrain, and even depose him from his dignity; denied the temporal supremacy of the bishop of Rome, and his right to inaugurate or dethrone princes; maintained that ecclesiastical censures, and even papal excommunications had no force, if pronounced on irrelevant or invalid grounds: he held that tithes were not of divine right, but merely of human appointment; censured the avarice, ambition, and secular pomp of the court of Rome, and of the episcopal order; was no warm friend of the regular clergy; and advised the reduction of monasteries and holidays. His opinions respecting civil government were analogous to those which he held as to ecclesiastical polity. He taught that the authority of kings and princes was originally derived from the people; that the former are not superior to the latter, collectively considered; that, if rulers become tyrannical, or employ their power for the destruction of their subjects, they may lawfully be controlled by them, and, proving incorrigible, may be deposed by the community as the superior power; and that tyrants may be judicially proceeded against, even to

ad reached the canonical age of twenty-five, and consequently before the year 1530. He had not therefore been haken in his original faith by the execution of Patrick Hamilton, the burning of whom for heresy before the gate of the Old, or St. Salvator's, College, on the afternoon of the last day of February, 1528, he has related with strong expressions of indignation in the beginning of his 'History of the Reformation.' Nor is anything known of what he was about from this date till the year 1542, when he is stated to have avowed himself a Protestant, having now reached the age of thirty-seven. It is probable, however, that the change in his opinions had begun six or seven years before this date.

It is certain that he was engaged in teaching publicly in the University of St. Andrew's when he first brought himself under the imputation of heresy, by the new views in regard both to religion and philosophy which he advanced in his lectures. To avoid the consequences he left that city, and, retiring to the south of Scotland, there openly declared his change of belief. He was immediately degraded from the priesthood; and it is asserted that he would have been in danger of assassination, but for the protection of a country gentleman of East Lothian, Hugh Douglas, laird of Langniddry, who had himself embraced the Protestant doctrines, and who now received Knox into his family to be tutor to his two sons. Here he appears to have remained for the next three years; the son of a neighbouring gentleman, John Cockburn of Ormiston, being also placed under his care.

It is from the year 1545 that Knox's life may be said to have passed in the light. From that date, indeed, it becomes part of the history of the country; and many of its most memorable passages have been recorded by his own pen in his 'History of the Reformation.' The first mention that he makes of himself is in giving an account of the peregrination made in the latter part of that year through the western and southern counties by the celebrated George Wishart, who soon afterwards ended his course by suffering martyrdom at St. Andrew's. Wishart *as a person of good family, being a brother of the laird*

of Pitarrow in Kincardineshire, and probably a son of the Wishart of Pitarrow who was justice-clerk in the reign of James V. He is first heard of as employed in teaching the Greek New Testament at Montrose, from which place, where he no doubt did not confine his teaching to the mere language of the Scriptures, he is stated to have been driven by the Bishop of Brechin in 1537. Upon this he took refuge in England; and it appears by an extract from the records of the corporation of Bristol, which Dr. M'Crie has published, that in consequence of having in a lecture in St. Nicholas' church in that city, on the 15th of May, 1538, set forth "the most blasphemous heresy that ever was heard, openly declaring that Christ's mother hath not nor could not merit for him, nor yet for us;"—"which heresy," it is added, "brought many of the commons of this town into a great error, and divers of them were persuaded by that heretical lecture to heresy,"—he was examined before the Archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates, and, being condemned, was (it must be presumed upon his recantation) sentenced to bear his fagot in St. Nicholas' church on the 13th, and in Christ Church on the 20th of July, and did so accordingly. Some years after he is heard of as

some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him. He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness; for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day. He forbore one meal in three one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a puff of straw; coarse new canvass sheets, which when he changed he gave away. He had commonly by his bedside a tub of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out, and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I, being very young, being assured often heard him, and in one light night discerned him. He loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him, but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them, and he went his way." It is a singular trait of the times that a man of this character, and one the sincerity of whose convictions and his elevation over all worldly considerations were afterwards attested by his death at the stake, should nevertheless not have refused to associate himself in a scheme of assassination. Yet such appears to have been the case. A letter to Henry VIII. from the Earl of Hertford, dated Newcastle, 17th April, 1544, first published by Robertson, in his 'History of Scotland,' though previously mentioned by other writers, states that a Scotsman called Wishart had that day come to the Earl with letters from Crichton of Brunstane, and would be immediately sent on to London to communicate to Henry a plan proposed by the Master of Rothes and others for either the apprehension or the slaughter of Cardinal Beaton, at this time the great stay of the Popish interest in Scotland. There can scarcely be a doubt that this Wishart was the reformer and martyr; and the more thorough examination that the affair has recently received from Mr. Tytler makes it clear that Henry saw Wishart, approved of the plot, and promised the conspirators his protection if they

should be compelled to take refuge in England.* What is certain is, that Wishart returned to his native country in the latter part of July, 1543,† along with the commissioners who had been despatched to England a few weeks before to negotiate the treaty for the marriage of the infant Queen of Scotland and the Prince of Wales. He appears to have spent the next two years chiefly in preaching in different parts of the country against the old religion. Knox, after giving an account of a succession of sermons which he delivered in Ayrshire and the Lothians in the latter part of the year 1545, tells us that one morning, towards the close of the Christmas holidays, when he was at Haddington, before mounting the pulpit to preach, there came to him a boy with a letter from the west country, as soon as he had read which, the narrative continues, “he called for John Knox, who had awaited upon him carefully from the time he came to Lothian.” He told Knox that he was wearied of the world—that the gentlemen of the west had written to him that they could not keep the appointment they had made to come up to Edinburgh. After this he paced up and down before the high altar for more than half an hour, his very countenance and visage declaring the grief and alteration of his mind. He then delivered a



gton, he took his good-night, as it were, for ever, his acquaintances, especially from Hugh Douglas, of Niddry. John Knox pressing to have gone he said Mr. George, he said, 'Nay; return to thine [children, pupils], and God bless you! One covenant for a sacrifice.' And he caused a two-sword, which commonly was carried with the said Mr. George, be taken from the said Knox, who did unwillingly—obeyed, and returned with Hugh Douglas, of Long Niddry." Cockburn of Ormiston, and others accompanied Wishart to Ormiston, where he was to pass the night, on foot, almost making it dangerous or difficult to ride. They retired to rest, when a little before midnight the house was surrounded by a party under the command of the Earl of Bothwell, who, to use Knox's expression, on this occasion made himself for money over to the Cardinal." After some parley Bothwell entered into the house, and Wishart was delivered to him, on his solemn promise that he should come to him. He was immediately carried to Beaton, who was sitting at Elphinstone, not a mile off. Then, after being taken to Edinburgh, he was brought back, "for religion's sake," as the historian phrases it, that is, for the sake of appearances, to Bothwell's house of Hailes; 'continues the narrative, "as gold and women corrupted all worldly and fleshly men from the beginning; so did they him; for the cardinal gave gold, at largely; and the queen, with whom the said Cardinal was then in the glonders [out of favour], procured favours in all his lawful suits to women, if he delivered the said Mr. George to be kept in the Tower of Edinburgh. He made some resistance at the very reason of his promise; but an effeminate man could not long withstand the assaults of a gracious queen; was the servant of God transported to Edinburgh, where he remained not many days; for that cruel wolf, the Cardinal, ever thirsting for the blood of the servant of God, so travelled with the abused governor that he was content that God's servant should be de-

livered to the power of that tyrant." Wist
burned before the gate of the Cardinal's castle
Andrew's on the 28th of March, 1546. His e
was followed by the assassination of Beaton in t
stronghold on the 29th of May following. T
spirators retained possession of the place, an
in course of time joined by many of the
of the reformed party, till their numbers
amounted to nearly a hundred and fifty pers
these Knox was one, but not one of the first.]
account is as follows:—"At the Pasch [Easte
Anno 1547, came to the castle of St. Andrew
Knox, who, wearied of removing from place to
reason of the persecution that came upon him
Bishop of St. Andrew's, was determined to l
Scotland, and to have visited the schools of G
of England then he had no pleasure, by reason
Pope's name being suppressed, his laws and co
remained in full vigour; but, because he had the
some gentlemen's children, whom certain year
nourished in godliness, their fathers solicited hi
to St. Andrew's, that himself might have the b
the castle, and their children the benefit of his d



earnestly to travail with him, that he would take each place upon him. But he utterly refused, saying that he would not run where God had not called him; meaning, that he would do nothing without a lawful vocation. Whereupon they privily amongst themselves advising, having with them in company Sir Lyndsay of the Mount, they concluded that they give a charge to the said John, and that publicly in the mouth of their preacher." Accordingly, on a Sunday morn-
 ing, upon, Rough, in concluding a sermon appropriate to the matter in hand, turned round to Knox, and, asking him not to be offended if he should declare to him what he had in charge from all present, pronounced:

"In the name of God, and of his son Jesus Christ, and in the name of these that presently call for my mouth, I charge you that ye refuse not this vocation, but, as ye tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom ye understand ought to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, I take upon you the public office and charge of preaching, even as ye look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that he shall multiply his graces with you."

Those present, being then appealed to, signified assent: "Whereat," continues the account, "the John, abashed, burst forth in most abundant tears, withdrew himself to his chamber; his countenance and behaviour, from that day till the day that he was allowed to present himself to the public place of preaching, did sufficiently declare the grief and trouble of his heart; for no man saw any sign of mirth of him, nor yet had he pleasure to accompany any man, many together." This scene seems to have taken place in the chapel of the castle. About the same time he goes to relate, he had become involved in a controversy on the question of the two religions with Dean John Annand, whom he describes as "a rotten papist," that "had long reproved John Rough in his preaching." Annand was a fellow of St. Leonard's College, and a person of eminence, which made him in disputation much more

than a match for Rough, who had received a very imperfect education, though he was popular as a preacher. Knox had in the first instance defended his friend by his pen, and, as he tells us himself, "had beaten the said Dean John from all defences; that he was compelled to fly to his last refuge, that is, to the authority of the church, 'which authority,' said he, 'damneth all Lutherans and heretics,' and therefore he needed no farther disputation." Knox upon this, "in open audience in the parish church of St. Andrew's," undertook to prove that the Roman Church was nothing else than the synagogue of Satan, and the Pope the man of sin, or antichrist. The people eagerly desired to hear what he had to say in evidence of these strong affirmations; "and so the next Sunday was appointed to the said John to express his mind in the public preaching place." He took for his text the 24th and 25th verses of the seventh chapter of Daniel; and his sermon, treating the subject both doctrinally and historically, was such a dissection, or rather mangling and tearing to pieces, of Popery, as had been scarcely matched by anything ever delivered by Luther himself. There were present his old master, Mair, and other members of the university, with many

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therefore, we would counsel you and them to provide better defences than fire and sword, for it may be that else ye shall be disappointed : men now have other eyes than they had then.' This answer gave the laird of Niddry, a man fervent and upright in religion." Then we are told that "the bastard bishop, who was not yet execrated, consecrated they call it"—that is the archbishop elect, John Hamilton, illegitimate brother of the Regent Arran—wrote to the sub-prior touching what had taken place ; and upon this "a convention of grey friars and black fiends" was appointed to be held in St. Leonard's Yard, before which first Rough was called and then Knox. The sub-prior, Dean John Winram, who presided, was understood to be inclined in his heart to the new doctrines, and Knox seems to have been at least allowed to defend himself without being silenced or interrupted. He himself speaks of the auditory as being "modest and quiet," and he says that in the disputation "many things were merrily scoffed over." Nor was it followed by any measures to prevent the Reformer from continuing to preach ; the possession of the castle, indeed, gave his friends the command of the town, and for the present secured him from molestation. Soon after this the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered, apparently in the chapel of the castle, by Rough and Knox, being the first administration of it in Scotland after the reformed mode, except that which Wishart had performed with great privacy immediately before his martyrdom. "God," says Knox, "so assisted his weak soldier, and so blessed his labours, that not only all those of the castle, but also a great number of the town, openly professed, by participation of the Lord's Table in the same purity that now it is ministered in the kirks of Scotland, with that same doctrine that he had taught unto them."

Knox claims to himself the credit of having foreseen and foretold the fall of the castle, which was effected by the aid of a French force on Saturday, the 31st of July, and he evidently takes credit to himself in the matter for *something more than human sagacity*. Such a trait of character ought not to be suppressed in giving an account

or plague, was making within the walls ;
tinues, " John Knox was of another ju
ever said that their corrupt life could not
ment of God, and that was his continua
from the time that he was called to preac
triumphed of their victory—the first twen
siege] they had many prosperous chances
and ever said, *they saw not what he saw*
bragged of the force and thickness of the
they should be but egg-shells. When
'England will rescue us,' he said, 'Ye
them ; but ye shall be delivered into your
and shall be carried unto a strange count
a direct claim to the gift of prophecy. F
represents himself as another Cassane
coming events with quite another vision
human reason. And the passage is als
containing his emphatic and decisive test
character of his associates, and the life
they kept possession of the place. The m
Cardinal, and the other friends of the ref
who flocked to join them after the de
not all saints in their ordinary walk and c

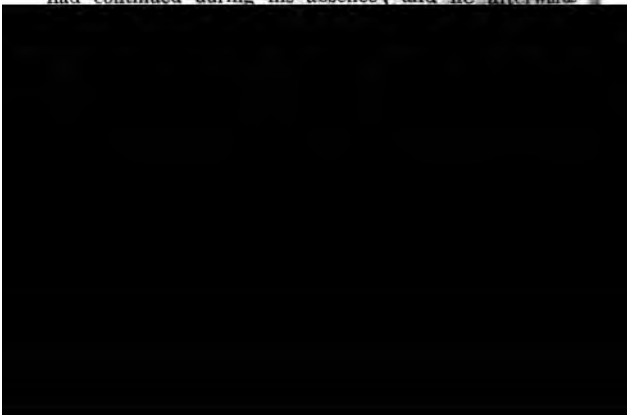
coast, and then carried up the Seine. Some were taken out and confined in prisons on shore ; but Knox, with others, was left in the galleys. He is supposed to have been himself the hero of a story which he tells by way of showing the persecution or annoyance to which they were subjected on account of their religion. "Soon after their arrival at Nantes," he says, "a glorious painted lady was brought in to be kissed [it was an image of the Virgin], and, amongst others, was presented to one of the Scotsmen, then chained. He gently said, 'Trouble me not ; such an idol is accursed ; and therefore I will not touch it.' The patron and the argousin [lieutenant], with two officers, having the chief charge of all such matters, said, 'Thou shalt handle it.' And so they violently thrust it to his face, and put it betwixt his hands, who, seeing the extremity, took the idol, and, advisedly looking about, he cast it in the river, and said, 'Let our Lady now save herself ; she is light enough, let her learn to swim.' After that was no Scotsman teased with that idolatry."

He always felt confident of his deliverance, and was even wont to predict it, according to his own account, with something of prophetic assurance. The galleys appear to have been occasionally sent over to the Scotch coast ; and once, when that in which he was was lying betwixt Dundee and St. Andrew's, he being at the time so sick that his life was generally despaired of, one of his fellow prisoners, he tells us, desired him to look at the land, and asked him if he knew it. It was St. Andrew's that was in view, with its crowded spires and pinnacles. "Yes," answered Knox, "I know it well ; for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened my mouth in public to his glory ; and I am fully persuaded, how weak that ever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life till that my tongue shall glorify his godly name in the same place." He takes care to add that this was reported by the person to whom he spoke the words, in the presence of many witnesses, many years before he again set foot in Scotland.

At length, after a detention of nineteen months, he

thought I might have craved kindness, but also to whom God hath been by me more liberal than they be thankful."

He did leave England not long after this. Having reason to fear that the new government was about to have him apprehended, he first retired to a place of concealment near the sea-coast, and then took the first opportunity of crossing to France, and was landed at Dieppe on the 20th of January, 1554. From Dieppe he proceeded, after a few weeks, to Geneva; and that town was his head-quarters for many months after this—though he made frequent journeys back to Dieppe in the course of 1554 and 1555, and also resided during part of the latter year at Frankfort, where he officiated as pastor to a Protestant congregation of English refugees, till the famous discussion that arose about the use of the English Liturgy, to which he was opposed, drove him back to Geneva. While here he acquired a knowledge of the Hebrew language; the Greek he had studied before, though probably since he had grown up. At last, in September, 1555, he ventured to revisit his native country. He first repaired to Berwick, in the neighbourhood of which town he had landed, and where his wife and her mother had continued during his absence; and he afterwards

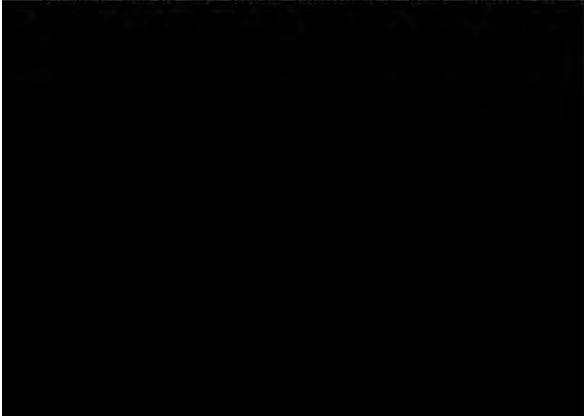


the custom of allowing females to become national sovereigns, prompted chiefly, no doubt, by the Protestant enmity to the then Queen of England, the bigoted and persecuting Mary. The First Blast was to have been followed by two others; but, although the author never recanted his doctrine, and probably continued to hold it while he lived, the death of Queen Mary and the accession of Elizabeth, which took place the next year, made him feel it to be unnecessary and inexpedient to blow his trumpet again.

The improved prospects of the friends of the Reformation in Scotland, arising from the change of government in England and other causes, now induced the heads of the party to invite Knox to return to his native country: and he accordingly left Geneva in January, 1559, and, after travelling leisurely through France, he sailed from Dieppe on the 12th of April, and landed at Leith on the 2nd of May. With the exception of a short visit to England some years after this, the rest of his life was all passed in Scotland.

From this date his career belongs to the history of the country. His first public appearance was at Perth, then commonly called St. Johnstone's, where, although he does not say so in his own account, he is understood to have been the preacher of the famous sermon on the 11th of May,—described by himself as having been “vehement against idolatry”—which led to, or at least was followed by, the first open popular outbreak against the established religion, and attack upon it by force. He does not in his History directly profess to approve of what was done upon this occasion; but it is plain that, naturally enough, he did not much regret it. In the beginning of his narrative he states that the treachery of the government in outlawing the Protestant preachers, after having induced their adherents, who had assembled for their protection, to disperse on a promise that the proceedings which had been commenced against them should be dropped, so inflamed the multitude, “that neither could the exhortation of the preachers, nor the commandment of the magistrate, stay them from destroying

the places of idolatry;" but in the same breath he tells us that "the preachers had declared before how odious was idolatry in God's presence; what commandment he had given for the destruction of the monuments thereof; what idolatry and what abomination was in the mass." After the vehement sermon on the 11th, "it chanced," he proceeds, "that a priest in contempt would go to the mass; and, to declare his malapert presumption, he would open up a glorious tabernacle which stood upon the high altar. There stood beside certain godly men, and amongst others a young boy, who cried with a loud voice, 'This is intolerable, that when God by his word hath plainly damned idolatry, we shall stand and see it used in despite.' The priest hereat offended, gave the child a great blow; who in anger took up a stone, and, casting at the priest, did hit the tabernacle, and brake down an image; and immediately the whole multitude that were about cast stones, and put hands to the said tabernacle, and to all other monuments of idolatry, which were despatched before the tenth man in the town were advertised, for the most part were gone to dinner. Which noised abroad, the whole multitude convened, not of the gentlemen, neither of them that were earnest professors, but of the rascal multitude: who, finding no-



Black and Grey Friars, and the Charterhouse
 onks, a building of a wondrous cost and greatness,
 so destroyed, that the walls only did remain of all
 the great edifications."

But by this time the Protestants, or, as they called
 themselves, "the Faithful Congregation of Jesus Christ
 Scotland," had taken measures for embodying them-
 selves as a military force, and openly setting the govern-
 ment at defiance. It was resolved by the heads of the
 city that they should assemble at St. Andrew's on the
 10th of June, "for reformation to be made there,"—that
 is to say, there to put down the old religion, and to set
 up the new. They met accordingly, bringing Knox
 with them. First making a tour along the coast of
 Fife, he preached at Crail on Friday the 8th, at An-
 dross on the 9th, and then returned to St. Andrew's,
 to blow his third and crowning blast there on the Sun-
 day. Hamilton, the archbishop,—“the cruel beast, the
 shop of St. Andrew's,” is Knox's designation for him,
 hearing of what was going on, came to the town on
 Saturday night, and sent to the Lords of the Congrega-
 tion to warn them “that, in case the said John Knox
 presented himself to the preaching place in his town
 principal kirk, he should gar [cause] him be sa-
 ved with a dozen of culverins [muskets], whereof the
 best part should light on his nose.” The zealous and
 repid reformer, however, was not to be kept back
 from what he had resolved to do, although his friends
 earnestly entreated him to give way for the present.
 As his hour of compensation and triumph was come, and
 he was resolved that it should make up for all his inju-
 ries, for all his sufferings. “In this town and kirk,”
 said he, “began God first to call me to the dignity of a
 teacher, from the which I was reft by the tyranny of
 unce, by procurement of the bishops, as ye all well
 enough know. How long I continued prisoner, what
 torment I sustained in the galleys, and what were the
 sorrows of my heart, is now no time to recite. This only I
 will not conceal, which more than one have heard me say
 when the body was far absent from Scotland, that my

speech a part of which we have just been held on the previous evening in His own narrative of what took place short and quiet. The subject of his ejection of the buyers and the sellers of Jerusalem;" in treating of which "so applied the corruption that was then in the papistry, and Christ of those to whom God giveth power that as well the magistrates, the provosts, the commonalty, did agree to remove idolatry, which also they did with the M'Crie says that "the church [evidently the cathedral] was stripped of images and monasteries were pulled down." So are, "He did so incite the auditors, and when ended, they went all and made spoil of the monasteries of the Black and the ground." From Spotswood, and History, it would appear as if all this was done in one day; but Calderwood has preserved a

of the church and the destruction of the monasteries to have happened on the 14th. As for the destruction of the cathedral—a building of great extent and magnificence—which is commonly said to have taken place on this occasion (Martine, for instance, who held the office of secretary to Archbishop Sharp, in his *Reliquiæ Divi Andreae*, speaks of it as having been razed after “a sermon of John Knox’s against idolatry, preached at Crail to a giddy lawless multitude”)—it was more probably the consequence of the extraordinary Act passed by the Parliament held at Edinburgh in August of the following year for demolishing all such cloisters and abbey churches as had not previously been pulled down—the effects of which are thus related by Spotswood:—“Thereupon ensued a pitiful vastation of churches and church buildings throughout all parts of the realm; for every one made bold to put to their hands, the meaner sort imitating the example of the greater and those who were in authority. No difference was made, but all the churches either defaced or pulled to the ground. The holy vessels, and whatsoever else men could gain of, as timber, lead, and bells, were put to sale. The very sepulchres of the dead were not spared. The registers of the church and bibliothecs cast into the fire. In a word, all was ruined; and what had escaped in the time of the first tumult did now undergo the common calamity; which was so much the worse, that the violences committed at this time were coloured with the warrant of public authority. Some ill-advised preachers did likewise animate people in these their barbarous proceedings, crying out, that the places where idols had been worshipped ought by the law of God to be destroyed, and that the sparing of them was the reserving of things execrable. . . . The report also went that John Knox (whose sayings were by many esteemed as oracles) should in one of his sermons say, that the sure way to banish the rooks was to pull down their nests.” The Presbyterian writers generally say as little as possible about these proceedings. The Act of Parliament ordering the general demolition of ecclesiastical build-

are highly curious and well worthy of a

Knox deemed it prudent to retire along with the other conspicuous members immediately after the slaughter of Rizzio the opportunity of paying a visit to Edinburgh still in that part of the island when the regency took place on the 10th of February. He turned to Edinburgh, however, in June he had a prominent and influential part in the proceedings afterwards taken against the prisoner in Lochleven, which ended in his deposition from the throne. He maintained, that he ought to be brought to trial; and, if found guilty of treason and murder, as he had no doubt of his death. Under the regency of the Earl of Morton was of course a person of the first importance who was assassinated on the 23rd of January in October thereafter Knox had a stroke. From this attack he recovered so far as to resume his clerical duties; but his diminished health and the aspect of public affairs together induced him to retire to St. Andrew's in the beginning of 1568. We have a most graphic description of

of Elizabeth and her ministers with extraordinary eagerness and importunity. In one of his letters to Sir James Croft, the English governor of Berwick, through whom the negotiations were carried on, he goes the length of suggesting the following curious plan for getting over the difficulty arising from Elizabeth being at this time at peace with France:—"If ye list to craft with them," says he, "the sending of a thousand or mo men to us can break no league nor point of peace contracted betwixt you and France; for it is free for your subjects to serve in war any prince or nation for their wages; and, *if ye fear that such excuses will not prevail, ye may declare them rebels to your realm when ye shall be assured that they be in our company.*" Croft in reply expresses his wonder that his correspondent, "being a wise man," could propose so transparent a trick: the world, he tells him, was not so blind but that it would soon see through such devices.

Towards the close of the year 1560 Knox lost his affectionate wife. On Tuesday, the 19th of August, 1561, the young queen arrived from France. "The very face of the heavens," writes Knox, "the time of her arrival, did manifestly speak what comfort was brought into this country with her, to wit, sorrow, darkness, dolour, and all impiety; for in the memory of man, that day of the year, was never seen a more dolorous face of the heaven than was at her arrival, which two days after did so continue. For, besides the surface wet, and corruption of the air, the mist was so thick and dark, that scarce might any man espy another the length of two pair of butts. The sun was not seen to shine two days before nor two days after. That forewarning gave God unto us; but, alas, the most part were blind." On the Sunday following the Romish service was again celebrated in the chapel of Holyrood House. That day week Knox delivered a furious sermon on his favourite subject, the sin of idolatry, in the course of which he said that one mass was a more fearful thing to his mind than if ten thousand armed enemies were to be landed in the realm *o suppress the true religion.* Some years after, referring

that God had forgiven him, he acknowledged himself to have done most wicked God to forgive him from the bottom of vertheless when the Queen heard of the he had gone in his sermon she sent for conversation or argument took place bet first of several which are among the n sages in the life of the Reformer. No except Mary's illegitimate brother, t Stuart—afterwards the Regent Murray, up to as the head of the Protestant pa himself recorded what passed. She beg him with having written a book against h —his famous attack on the regimen of w swered that it was most certain he ha book, nor had he seen it refuted; on t added, he still thought himself better abt ain the truth of what he had there adv ten men in Europe would be found to be error. Afterwards, however, he said, to mend matters, probably better meant t unate, "I have communicated my ju world; if the realm finds no inconvenie

religion was nothing but a mad frenzy; "and therefore," said he, "to take the sword from them, to bind their hands, and to cast them into prison, till that they be brought to a more sober mind, is no disobedience against princes, but just obedience, because that it agreeth with the will of God." At these words, he tells us, an alteration came over the Queen's countenance, and she stood silent and amazed for more than a quarter of an hour. When Knox was asked by some of his friends after this interview what he thought of Mary, "If there be not in her," he answered, "a proud mind, a crafty wit, and an indurate heart against God and his truth, my judgment faileth me."

He was sent for again to the palace in May of the following year, 1562, in consequence of a sermon in which he was reported to have glanced at the Queen's dancing. Upon this occasion he insisted upon repeating to Mary the whole of his discourse, or at least a full summary of it, as it was actually delivered; and he proposed that she should assign him a certain day and hour when he might come to her for the same purpose every week. From this interview we are told, in his History, "the said John departed with a reasonable merry countenance; whereat some papists offended said, 'He is not afraid.' Which heard of him, he answered, 'Why should the pleasing face of a gentlewoman fear me? I have looked in the faces of many angry men, and yet have not been afraid above measure.' And so left the Queen and the Court for that time."

We must pass over his great debate at Maybole on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of September, 1562, with Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel, a report of which he afterwards published; and also his various disputations with Maitland of Lethington and other lay members of his own party, whom he could not always get to adopt his extreme notions, and who besides took quite an opposite view from his of the religious revolution which they had jointly brought about in one most material particular—he claiming the revenues of the old church as the rightful inheritance of the new, they deriding that

theory as "a devout imagination," and, having most of them by securing a share of that spoil for themselves found godliness to be great gain at least in the world that now is, being immoveable in their determination to hold fast what afforded them so comfortable an experience. In 1563 he even quarrelled with the Earl of Murray, upbraiding him with his lukewarmness, and solemnly renouncing his friendship; nor were they reconciled till after nearly two years.

In May 1563 he had a third interview with the Queen. She sent for him to Lochleven, where she then lodged, and "travailed with him earnestly," he tells us, "two hours before her supper, that he would be the instrument to persuade the people not to put hands to punish any man for the using of themselves in their religion as pleased them." He perceived her craft, however, he says, and would go no farther than to assure her that if she would do her duty the people would do theirs. "It should be profitable to your majesty," said he, "to consider what is the thing your Grace's subjects look to receive of your Majesty, and what it is that ye ought to do unto them by mutual contract. . . . Ye crave of them service; they crave of you protection and defence against wicked doers. Now, Madam, if you shall done

in religion, while that yet in her heart was nothing but venom and distruction, as shortly after did appear."

But their next meeting, which took place in the latter part of the same year, was the most remarkable. Knox, in a sermon which he preached in his own church at Edinburgh, had made some strong allusions to the queen's intended marriage with Darnley, the rumour of which was then rife. Calling upon his audience to take note of his words, he concluded by solemnly warning them that, whensoever the nobility of the land professing the Lord Jesus should consent that an infidel—and all papists were infidels—should be head to their sovereign, they would, as far as in them lay, banish Christ from the realm, and bring God's vengeance upon the country and a plague upon themselves, as well as perchance give the queen what would prove to her but small comfort. These words and this manner of speaking, he tells us, were judged intolerable, both by Papists and Protestants; and even his more attached friends were displeased, and blamed him for having gone too far. Information having been quickly carried to the palace, he was sent for, and presented himself before her majesty soon after dinner. Several of his friends accompanied him to Holyrood House, but only John Erskine of Dun, an eminent Protestant who then officiated as superintendent (or spiritual overseer) of the district of Angus and Mearns, passed with him into the royal cabinet. As soon as he entered, Mary broke out into what he calls "a vehement fume," crying that never prince had been treated as she was. She vowed to God she would some day be revenged. "And with these words," says Knox, "scarcely could Marnock, her secret chamber-boy, get napkins to hold her eyes dry for the tears; and the howling, besides womanly weeping, stayed her speech." "The said John," he continues, "did patiently abide all the first fume;" but the few words he spoke when he found an opportunity had little or no effect in soothing her. "What have you to do," she repeated, "with my marriage? What are you in this commonwealth?" "A subject born within the same, Madam," replied Knox. "And,

albeit," he proceeded, "although I am neither earl, lord, nor baron, yet to me it appertains no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any of the nobility." He then repeated nearly what he had said in the pulpit about her taking an infidel to be her husband. "At these words," continues the contemptuous narrative, "howling was heard, and tears might have been seen in greater abundance than the matter required. John Erskine of Dun, a man of meek and gentle spirit, stood beside, and entreated what he could to mitigate her anger, and gave unto her many pleasing words of her beauty, of her excellency, and how that all the princes of Europe would be glad to seek her favour." We may conceive the suppressed scorn with which Knox heard all this flattery of his gentle brother clergyman. It was, he intimates, all useless or worse than useless—only casting oil upon the flaming fire. He himself stood still with unaltered countenance, till her majesty's passion, after a long while, somewhat subsided; he then assured her that he had never delighted in the weeping of any of God's creatures; he could scarcely bear the tears of his boys when his own hand corrected them, much less could he rejoice in those of her maiesty: still even her tears he must sustain al-

and, when he has laid on his arrest, the foul worms will be busy with this flesh, be it never so fair and so tender ; and the silly soul, I fear, shall be so feeble that it can neither carry with it gold, garnishing, targeting [tassels], pearl, nor precious stones.' And by such means procured he company of women, and so passed the time till the laird of Dun willed him to depart to his house with new advertisement."

The popish writers assert that Knox about this time sought in marriage the Lady Barbara Hamilton, eldest daughter of the Duke of Chastelherault, and widow of the Lord Fleming, but was refused. The story is of very doubtful credibility. In March 1564 he married Margaret Stewart, daughter of the Lord Ochiltree. On the 29th of July, 1565, the queen married Darnley.

We cannot here enter upon the discussion which has been recently revived as to whether Knox was privy to the plot for the murder of Rizzio, or Riccio, which took place on the 9th of March, 1566. For the new evidence which is conceived by Mr. Fraser Tytler to establish his participation the reader must be referred to the seventh volume of that gentleman's 'History of Scotland' (8vo., Edinburgh, 1842), pp. 353—362. It is very far from being conclusive. At the same time, it may be observed, the greatest admirers and staunchest defenders of Knox have not been accustomed to treat this imputation as entirely improbable. All that Dr. M'Crie says is, "There is no reason to think that he was privy to the conspiracy which proved fatal to Rizzio. But it is probable that he had expressed his satisfaction at an event which contributed to the safety of religion and the commonwealth, if not also his approbation of the object of the conspiracy."* M'Crie admits also, in another place, that Knox "held the opinion that persons who, according to the law of God, and the just laws of society, have forfeited their lives by the commission of flagrant crimes, may warrantably be put to death by private individuals, provided all redress in the ordinary course of justice is

* *Life of Knox*, p. 294.





ABINET PORTRAIT GALLERY

OF

BRITISH WORTHIES.



under of the Royal Exchange was born in the year 1519, and he lived during the reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., Mary, and Elizabeth. He was descended from a family originally settled in the county of Norfolk, which had become considerable and wealthy by commerce. James Gresham, his great-grandfather, resided at Holt, where he had a manor-house and estate. But he frequently resided in the populous busy city of Norwich. This James Gresham was succeeded by his son John, and John married a lady who brought him a large fortune, and in due process of time

the principal freemen of the Mercers' Company, 1544 he joined his younger brothers Richard in making a loan to Henry VIII. ; and at that time was ranked among the most considerable of merchants that traded with the Low Countries. His brother Richard, the father of Sir Thomas, mercer in the city of London, being apprenticed to John Middleton, an eminent mercer and resident at the staple at Calais. As early as the year 1544 he was admitted to the freedom of the Mercers' Company. He was so very fortunate in trade that he purchased estates in several counties of England. He was frequently absent upon business at Calais and the Low Countries. During his residence on the continent he was a diligent collector and writer of news ; and responded directly with the king's minister no less a personage than Cardinal Wolsey, to whom he was much devoted. Richard Gresham acted as political or money agent for Henry VIII. in the Low Countries, and resided in this capacity at Antwerp, the part of Henry's capricious and ridiculous reign in France. He was the first of our merchants to conduct

as. The merchants of London, having no constant place of resort, were accustomed to meet at set-hours in Lombard Street, where they were exposed to the open air and all injuries of the weather. Richard wrote a letter to Sir Thomas Audeley, Lord Seal, to acquaint him that there were certain houses in Lombard Street belonging to Sir George Monmouth, which, if allowed to be purchased and pulled down, would afford space for building a handsome Bourse or exchange, such as existed in the Netherlands and in other countries; and he therefore entreated Audeley to advise his Majesty, that a letter might be sent to Sir George requiring him to sell those houses to the mayor and commonalty of the city of London "*for such prices as they did purchase them for.*" Sir Richard calculated that two thousand pounds or something more would pay for a new building, which would be very "beautiful to the eye, and also for the honour of our sovereign lord the King." The scheme, however, fell to the ground, although it should seem, lying mostly, if not entirely, with the citizens. In the year 1537, Sir Richard became Mayor of London. It appears that he continued to advise on various financial matters for the court, and that he secured the goodwill of the various ministers who succeeded Cardinal Wolsey, and the favour of Henry VIII., when that once debonnaire King had grown into a cruel, capricious, and sanguinary tyrant. The last fact explains that Sir Richard had a yielding conscience towards matters of religion (and this, indeed, appears to have been the case with his son Sir Thomas as with all the members of the family). While sheriff he had committed into his custody and committed to Newgate the plighted and unfortunate James Bainham, a Protestant gentleman of the Temple, who was charged with treason by the Popish priests, and who in the end was hanged in Smithfield. Many years after this, when Sir Richard was not trammelled by any official duty, as he had been during his shrievalty, he became one of the commissioners to find out heretics and bring them to punishment, Henry having declared that, when

purchaser of church and monastic property. He wrote written letters to Thomas Cromwell, the great minister of the confiscation, to beg him to move the king to give preference in the market, and let him buy at the lowest of his own naming, certain church lands in the county of Norfolk. He received from the king three successive grants of church lands; and in 1536 he was named one of the commission for taking the possessions of the abbey, monasteries, &c., in and about London. This was a money-making occupation, and which no man could undertake without looking to himself. Yet if Sir Richard Rich did himself by the breaking up of the old institutions, he made some laudable efforts to get something for the poor, scrambling for the destitute classes, who in former times had depended upon the alms of the Popish priests, upon the hospitals and infirmaries attached to the monasteries. He petitioned the King to provide for the comfort of the poor, sick, blind, aged, and infirm persons, being not able to help themselves, and to place certain where they may be refreshed and comforted, and he prayed his majesty to order that the hospitals or spitals within the city, commonwealth, and the Mayor's Spital, St. Bartholomew's Spital, and

Green. His brother John, who was also knighted, was equally successful in the world, being one of the principal merchant adventurers trading with the Levant. He also was sheriff and lord mayor. In 1546 Sir John Gresham bought of his eldest brother, William, the family manor-house at Holt, and converted it into a free grammar-school, and most liberally endowed it with estates in Norfolk, and some lands or houses in London. Like other property bequeathed for the same noble purposes, this endowment has been allowed to be shamefully mismanaged by a City Company, and in part alienated, and instead of being one of the foremost establishments in all England, which it well might have been by this time, the Holt grammar-school educates only some forty or fifty boys, and has only one university exhibition of twenty pounds per annum. The passion for plunder, and extortion, and self-appropriation, did not cease with the remorseless scramble for church property at the dawn of the Reformation; and, unhappily, the good intentions of the Gresham family have been particularly exposed to the mean and selfish passions of those who have lived after them, and who have been unworthily intrusted with the administration of the property they bequeathed for high and ennobling purposes. Sir John joined his brother Sir Richard in imploring Henry VIII. to make over some of the suppressed religious houses in the city for the use of the poor and diseased; and it is said that to him the city was mainly indebted for Bethlehem Hospital as an asylum for lunatics. Sir John, who died in Queen Mary's time, had a very grand and very papistical funeral.

Thomas Gresham, younger son of Sir Richard, it has been said, was born in the year 1519. The place of his birth is somewhat doubtful. Fuller in his *Worthies* says decidedly that he was born in the county of Norfolk. Others again say that he was born in London. One part of Fuller's account is, that he "was bred a mercer and merchant in the city of London." His mother, the first wife of Sir Richard, was Audrey, daughter of William Lynne, esquire, of Southwick, in *Northamptonshire*. Son, nephew, grandson, and great-

grandson to opulent merchants, Thomas was destined to trade from his birth. But Sir Richard, although intending that his son should follow his own profession, resolved to give him the advantages of a liberal education at one of the universities. Thomas was sent to Cambridge, and yet was bound apprentice, as mercer, to his uncle John. Whether he went to the university first, and to his uncle's counting-house or warehouse afterwards, or whether he finished his apprenticeship first, and went to the university after that, we do not discover. We learn from Gresham himself that he served eight years' apprenticeship to trade. Probably his stay at Cambridge was but short, and was taken out of these eight years. In the year 1543 Thomas was in the Low Countries, acting by himself as a merchant, and as an agent for Henry VIII. In 1544 he married a rich widow. His wife was daughter to William Ferneley, esquire, of West Creting, in Suffolk, and widow of William Read, whose ancestors were settled at Beccles, in Suffolk. Read had been citizen and mercer of London, and must have lived on terms of intimacy with the Gresham family, for he appointed Sir Richard (the father of Thomas, who married his widow) overseer to his will, and bequeathed him a legacy of ten pounds and a black

He had acquired a reputation for activity, ability, and stability as a merchant, and was enriched by an hereditary reputation, or by the high consideration to which so many of his family had attained, when the embarrassments of the English government called him fully into employment. Sir William Dansell, financial agent for the crown in the Low Countries, had shown a great lack of financial skill; and through ignorance, or negligence, had so mismanaged matters that the rate of interest was fearfully raised upon the King, and his credit at the same time much injured. He was "revoked from his office of agent by reason of his slackness."*

This happened in the month of April, 1551, in the fourth year of the reign of Edward VI. The court and government, being then entirely ruled by the incapable protector Somerset and his self-seeking and rapacious crew, were deeply in debt, and so discredited abroad that there was but little prospect of their obtaining any fresh loans. In this perplexity their lordships of the council called in several London merchants, to take their advice as to the means of extricating government from the difficulties under which it lay. Among these merchants was Thomas Gresham. He says himself—"I was sent for unto the council, to know my opinion what way, with least charge, his Majesty might grow out of debt. And after my device was declared, the King's highness and the council required me to take the room [business or office] in hand, without my suit or labour for the same."†

At this time the annual interest on the king's foreign bonds amounted to what was for that time an enormous sum. By the management of the foreign exchanges, over which no English merchant had hitherto attempted to exercise any control, the rate of exchange was ruinously adverse to England. Moreover, the continental capitalists drove their trade much in the manner of cer-

* Letters as quoted by J. W. Burgon, in *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*.

† *Cottonian MS.* as cited by J. W. Burgon.

tain disreputable modern money-lenders, who give to the spendthrifts with whom they deal so much in cash and so much in bad pictures, or in sour wines in the docks, or in bad jewellery, or the like. At every renewal of debt they required their slow and unpunctual creditors to purchase jewels or other wares and merchandise to a large amount, as a consideration for their giving time for the liquidation of the debt. It should appear that neither Henry VIII. nor his son and successor had ever been able to conclude an original loan without agreeing to take at a price fixed by the money-lenders some jewel "marvellous big," or some "fair and great diamond," or some other article of which they had no manner of need. "This," says Gresham, "was to his Majesty's extreme loss and damage."*

Being thus appointed to serve the king, Gresham now carried his wife and family to Antwerp, and established himself in the house of Gaspar Schetz, a rich merchant, with whom he had long been connected. This Gaspar Schetz was the eldest of three brothers, who were all wealthy, and partners with him in his business. Their family motto, or the motto they adopted on a medal which bore the names of Gaspar, Malchior, and Balthazar Schetz, was "CONCORDIA RES PARVÆ CRESCANT"—

uninterruptedly. According to his own account, during the first two years of his service to King Edward VI. he posted from Antwerp to the court at Westminster no fewer than forty times, and each time upon short notice. It should appear that whenever there was a money difficulty at court—and such difficulties were constantly occurring during the whole of the reign of Edward VI.—Gresham was called over and taken into council by ministers that were as ignorant and blundering as they were selfish and rapacious. The common process was to discharge, or partially discharge, the interest due upon old debts, by making new debts at Antwerp. And still, goods or useless nicknacks continued to be forced upon the borrower, in the old fashion. More than once we find Gresham perplexed to his wits' end to know how he shall convey over to England scores of bales, the exportation of which is prohibited by the government of the Low Countries, and to devise how his own government are to turn hucksters, and force the immediate sale of commodities for which there is no demand in England. The ingenuity which the perplexed agent exercised in these dilemmas is very amusing, and seems generally to have been attended with success; but it was a system of tricks and expedients, to be excused perhaps in that ignorant, anti-commercial time, but certainly not to be upheld as an exemplar and model to the British merchant of a better, because a more enlightened, age. In many respects Gresham was to the true merchant and financier only what the alchemist and conjurer was to the chemist and true natural philosopher. His errors were indeed those of his age; but beyond his age he never appears to have looked, nor can we discover in him even a germ of those freer and juster ideas of trade which were timidly enounced a century after his death.

The government, and Gresham himself, entertained, in its widest extent, the fallacious notion of the time, that it was a most fatal thing to allow money to be carried out of the country; and, although there was no proper establishment of custom-house officers or coast-guards, *no organized police, no suitable organization in any one*

the seizure and monopoly of all lead, he would keep the money of England within the realm, and extricate the king from the debts in which his father and the Duke of Somerset had involved him. High-handed as he was, Northumberland shrank from the daring and unpopular step of seizing the lead. As for the weekly payments which he agreed to, they were only continued for eight weeks, or rather for less. Yet, by means which have not (*all*) been very clearly shown, Gresham succeeded in raising the rate of exchange in favour of England, and in making the pound sterling, which had passed there for 16s., rise on the bourse of Antwerp to 19s. 8d. He congratulated himself on his great success; yet some of the means which he says himself he recommended and got adopted for the obtaining of this desirable end are as objectionable in principle, and almost as tyrannical, as the lead project could have been. On one occasion his own uncle, Sir John Gresham, was a great loser by these high-handed proceedings: but with the experience and adroitness of the Gresham family, and with Thomas's great power of control over exchanges and the money-market generally, it must have been strange if "my uncle Sir John" did not get good compensation for what he lost or was robbed of by government. In the course



of long Spanish silk stockings," and got great favour and fame thereby; for, continueth that honest chronicler and quondam tailor John Stow, "you shall understand that King Henry the Eighth did wear only cloth hose, or hose cut out of ell-broad taffety; or that by great chance there came a pair of Spanish silk stockings from Spain." For his services of all kinds, Gresham certainly received no stinted reward. He came in for some of the spoils of the church, or monastic bodies, which had not yet been swallowed up. These lands were all in Norfolk. Three weeks before his death, Edward conferred upon him other church lands; and by an instrument bearing date only six days before that young king's death, Gresham got a good slice out of the lands of the abbey of Our Lady of Walsingham, also in Norfolk, and out of some other church domains in the same county. It was a sad day for Master Thomas that on which the young King Edward died. His patron, the Duke of Northumberland, after the failure of his insane attempt to place his daughter-in-law the Lady Jane Grey upon the throne, was sent to the same scaffold on Tower Hill to which he had sent Protector Somerset. Queen Mary ascended the throne, completely remodelled the government, and commenced a fierce persecution against the despoilers of the Roman Church and the Protestant party generally. On the 4th of September, 1553, about a month after Mary's accession, Gresham, being at Antwerp, was desired "to make his immediate repair to the court;" but the letter of recall (if such it was meant to be) "was again stayed," and was not sent till the 9th, when the tone of it should appear to have been altered.* In the end, and that too very shortly, the storm blew over Gresham's head, leaving him unscathed, and even in the enjoyment of his now very profitable employment. From the evidence before us, we suspect that our knowing and cunning merchant made great haste to comply with the times, and that afterwards, when Elizabeth came to the

* Minutes of the Council Office, as quoted by J. W. Burgon.

throne to re-establish Protestantism and proscribe Popery, he not only exaggerated the amount of his risk and danger at the accession of Mary, but was also guilty of falsehood or equivocation, hinting that his danger was owing to his steadfastness in religion. Notwithstanding his usefulness and the hereditary and acquired reputation of Gresham, it may most reasonably be doubted whether he would have been left in office and even taken into favour by Mary and her government if he had not given some assurance of that conformity which was exacted from all men holding places. His family, like so many others, had invariably steered with the shifting winds. Almost as soon as the bigoted Queen Mary was firmly seated he wrote a letter, declaring his allegiance and explaining of what use he had been in getting the king her brother out of debt. As Mary very soon wanted to borrow money herself, Gresham very soon became, to all appearance, as great a favourite at court as he had been during the Protestant rule of the Duke of Northumberland or of the Duke of Somerset. He corresponded directly with Secretary Petre, with the Privy Council, and occasionally with the queen herself.

The court stood in urgent need of specie; but the rulers of Flanders, as well as the governments of all



agent was obliged to have recourse to. All the specie or bullion was smuggled, Gresham bribing the custom-house officers to prevent a too searching inquest into his bales and vats and casks. After buying up some gunpowder of which the government of Queen Mary stood in need in consequence of the recent insurrection of Sir Thomas Wyatt, and its apprehension of a great Protestant rising in England, Gresham sent to Spain to get more specie. His operations there caused one of the oldest banking-houses in Seville to stop payment, and he said he greatly feared he should be the occasion of making bankrupts of all the bankers of that city. He was detained in Spain by this business nearly five months; during which time he was more than once rather ungraciously reprimanded by the English government. Shortly after his return to England he went over to his post at Antwerp, and there continued to transact the business of queen's agent, as well as other more private commercial affairs as a mercer and merchant-adventurer. A courtier warned him that the best way to continue in favour with Queen Mary was to court the goodwill, and write often about her husband King Philip, who went over to his father's states in Flanders not long after his marriage with the English Queen. The hint was not lost upon Gresham, who, like a good courtier himself, wrote frequently to the queen about the "right good health" and marvellous good looks of King Philip, and thanking and praising God that it should be so, and praying God that so it might continue to be. On the other side, Philip aided our royal agent in getting specie sent out of Flanders and Holland into England, only strictly charging him to convey the money "with as much secrecy and as small bruit" as he could. In other words, Philip himself turned smuggler, and contravened his own or his father's laws. The queen frequently answered Gresham's letters with her own hand, and the correspondence became very friendly and unceremonious on both sides. Now and then Mary's conscience was startled at her agent's bold proceedings, as when *Gresham built himself at Antwerp a furnace wherewith to*

melt down the Spanish coin, a thing heinous in the eyes of the law of the country. His house at Antwerp was the occasional lodging of all the ministers and superior officers of Mary's government who passed that way; and ambassadors and diplomatic agents residing abroad seen frequently to have received their pay through him or his correspondents. He had, in the principal kingdoms of Europe, paid native agents, who sent him regular intelligence in politics as well as in trade. He organized this intelligence system in the time of Edward VI.; but he continued it under Queen Mary, and extended it under Elizabeth. He witnessed at Brussels the abdication of the Emperor Charles V. in favour of his son Philip II., the unloving and disappointed husband of our queen. But he was now frequently and for long periods resident in London. In 1555 he was among those who presented new year's gifts to her majesty. At this time he was in the very highest favour at court, obtaining from Queen Mary a grant of more lands. But court favour and great prosperity, particularly in a city merchant, were, in those days, likely to excite envy and malice; and in 1556 Gresham was rather severely handled by the Marquess of Winchester, the old lord treasurer, who taxed him with not being quite so honest

make her triumphal entrance into the capital. As she had already appointed William Cecil her principal secretary of state, and as Cecil was the old ally of our merchant, Gresham came before Elizabeth under very favourable auspices. She promised him by the faith of a queen that she would ever deal fairly with him, and that she would give as much lands as ever had been given to him by King Edward her late brother, and Queen Mary her late sister; "which two promises," adds Gresham, "made me a young man again." At the end of the audience her majesty gave him her hand to kiss, and confirmed him in his place. Mary had left an empty treasury; Elizabeth was in immediate want of money, and who could negotiate the foreign loans so well as the long practised Gresham? Before departing for Flanders, the royal agent wrote a letter of advice to the queen to explain to her majesty how the nation had fallen into debt, and how all her fine gold had been conveyed out of the realm. Some of the remedies he suggested were excellent. Henry VIII. had sadly debased the coin: he advised the queen to bring it back to its purity; he advised her to contract as little debt as possible in foreign countries, and to be scrupulous in keeping up her good credit; and "*specially*, said he, "*with your own merchants; for it is they must stand by you at all events in your necessity.*" Yet shortly after offering this good counsel, he again recommended the government to stop the fleet of merchant ships loaded and bound for Antwerp, and so bring the merchants to their own terms, and keep up the rate of exchange abroad. He told Cecil that he must lie in wait until he was quite sure that all the cloths and kerseys were entered and shipped; and that then he must pounce upon the fleet, declaring that none should depart till the queen's further pleasure were known. The measure, which is characteristic of the mixed cunning and violence of the times, appears to have been carried into effect as Gresham recommended, and with the immediate success that he anticipated from it. But such measures could not make the name of Gresham a popular one among the merchants of London. Besides

high-handed practices with the merchant-adventurers, and to extract money from them by way of forced loans.

As a much greater storm was brewing on the continent, Gresham had many journeys to make in Flanders upon state business. In one of these his horse fell with him, and his leg was broken. The leg was set, but he is said to have continued lame for the rest of his life. He returned to England in March 1561. In the month of July of that year, he begged Cecil to appoint a day for the meeting of the commissioners, who, with the friendly Cecil at their head, were to examine his accounts. The accounts appear to have been pleasantly passed by the commissioners; and in August Gresham was sent back to Flanders to get 30,000*l.* out of the English merchants, to pay therewith part of the queen's debts, and to ask time of her creditors for the rest. The commotions in the Low Countries had by this time greatly increased, and Count Egmont and the powerful Prince of Orange had placed themselves at the head of the malcontents. These people wanted arms and ammunition for themselves; yet Gresham succeeded in obtaining a good supply of saltpetre, some armour and guns, with which he returned to England. During his now very frequent absences from his post his duties as queen's agent at



years they have not found the means to make a Bourse ! but must walk in the rain, when it raineth, more liker pedlars than merchants ; and in this country and all other, there is no kind of people that have occasion to meet but they have a place meet for that purpose. Indeed, and if your business were done, and that I might have the leisure to go about it, and that you will be a means to Mr. Secretary [Cecil] to have his favour therein, I will not doubt but to make so fair a Bourse in London as the great Bourse is in Antwerp, without molesting of any man more than he should be well disposed to give." Gresham, as we have seen, inherited the notion of a London Bourse or Exchange from his father Sir Richard ; but Richard Clough, no doubt, had a good deal to do in maturing the idea, and in aiding him in the execution of it.

By this time Sir Thomas was busily employed in building his new and spacious house in Bishopsgate Street, which afterwards became Gresham College, and which Stow describes as being "the most spacious of all other thereabout ; builded of brick and timber." The house was surrounded by open grounds—convertible into pleasant gardens—which extended from Bishopsgate Street to Broad Street. His foreign agents and correspondents in the Low Countries shipped for him such materials as could not easily be had in England. The large sums he was expending on this vast building were a proof of his wealth, and a fresh provocation to envy.

Sir Thomas, being on the continent in 1562, told Cecil that for a certainty there would shortly be a great league for religion's sake against Elizabeth : and partly because the Catholic party in France were so very poor at the time, he earnestly recommended the queen to support and join the French Huguenots, and thereby regain possession of Calais and the other strips of English territory in France which had been lost under her sister Mary. Soon an English army was sent over to Havre de Grace under Sir Edward Poynings ; and thus was *begun a system which never ceased during Elizabeth's*

with wares and wax lights as many shops as they either could or would, and that they should have all those shops so furnished rent-free that year, which otherwise at that time was forty shillings the shop by the year."* All things being prepared, and all the city bells ringing, on the 23rd January 1571 "the queen's majesty, attended with her nobility, came from her house at the Strand, called Somerset House, and entered the city by Temple Bar, through Fleet Street, Cheap, and so by the north side of the Bourse to Sir Thomas Gresham's in Bishopsgate Street, where she dined. After dinner her majesty, returning through Cornhill, entered the Burse on the south side; and after that she had viewed every part thereof above the ground, especially the Pawne [the upper part of the building wherein were the hundred shops or stalls], which was richly furnished with all sorts of the finest wares in the city, she caused the same Burse, by an herald and trumpet, to be proclaimed the Royal Exchange, and so to be called from thenceforth, and not otherwise."†

After this grand celebration, Gresham's bazaar or shops began to be filled and the rents to be raised: "And within two years after, he raised that rent unto four marks a year; and within a while after that he

took up the subject and treated it not only in English, but also in Latin. Old Thomas Heywood, in celebrating the queen's visit and Gresham's wealth and glory and loyalty, became rather rhapsodical, making the cool and cautious Gresham perform the extravagant feat which is related of Cleopatra. He makes Gresham reduce a costly pearl to powder, put the powder into a cup of wine, and then swallow wine and pearl-powder together with these words:—

“Here fifteen hundred pound at one clap goes!
 Instead of sugar, Gresham drinks the pearl
 Unto his queen and mistress: Pledge it, lords!”

It appears from various complaints of the citizens, that parts, at least, of the Exchange had been run up with too much haste, or had been built of bad materials. On the ground-floor there were said to be holes in the walls, and indications which seemed to threaten the passers by with a tumble down of the upper stories. Gresham's building did not exist quite a century, being burned to the ground in the great fire of London in the year 1666. The statues of kings and queens fell to the ground upon their faces, and the greater part of the building fell upon them. “But Sir Thomas Gresham's statue,” says Evelyn, “though fallen from its niche, remained entire, when all those of the kings since the conquest were broken to pieces.” Sir Christopher Wren, who had the glory, at a later period, of building St. Paul's, and so many other splendid churches in London, presented a magnificent plan for rebuilding the Exchange; but the Gresham committee and the other city magnates preferred employing a Mr. Jerman, one of the city surveyors. Jerman's design did not differ materially from Gresham's or Heinrick's copy of the Bourse of Antwerp. The first foundation stone was laid on the 6th of May, 1667, in the time of Charles the Second. Old Cibber, the sculptor, father to the dramatist, and Gibbons the carver and sculptor, were employed to decorate the interior of the new building with statues of kings, carvings, &c. *In the midst of the uncovered quadrangle was placed the statue*

of Charles II. ; but the statue of the original founder was placed in an obscure corner of the Exchange, where it was commonly shrouded with placards, shop bills, and advertisements. It would have been well if the citizens had not shrouded more of Gresham than this stone effigies. The recent history of the great centre of the commerce of the World is familiar to all. The edifice erected in the time of Charles II. was burned down on the night of Wednesday, the 10th of January 1838. The foundation of the present building was laid shortly after, and the new Exchange was opened by her Majesty Queen Victoria on the 28th of October 1844.

The vast mansion or city palace which Gresham built for his own habitation, in Bishopsgate Street, or rather on the ground which lies between that street and Broad Street, had been finished as early as the year 1562. To speak critically of the building, from the engravings of it which remain (and the mean-spirited barbarism of our grandfathers has left us nothing else), we should say that the building was noticeable rather from its extent than from any beauty in its architecture. Like the Exchange, it was built after a Flemish model. A quadrilateral range of building, one story high, with attics above, enclosed a large open square, which was ornamented by a series of



as he lived, yet after the death of his only son, which happened before he began to build the Exchange, Gresham was quite capable of a posthumous generosity and munificence. His Cambridge studies, his long residences abroad, and his intimate connection with some of the best educated men at home, had given him a respect and love for the liberal arts, and, with the means, he had the ambition of doing something important for their promulgation. He therefore resolved that, after his own death, and the death of his wife, his stately London house should be converted into a college, or seat of learning, and be endowed with the rents derivable from the Royal Exchange. The edifice seemed as if it had been built for such a purpose. It is thought that it was about the year 1575 that he had sufficiently matured his plan to announce his intention of founding this college for the gratuitous instruction of young citizens and of all who might choose to go and attend the lectures. The university of Cambridge, his own Alma Mater, conjured him to abandon this project and to endow a new college at Cambridge instead. Seeing how shamefully that part of his will has been administered in London, we may wish that the property had really gone to his own Alma Mater; for if it had been left to Cambridge, Cambridge would have known how to keep it. But Gresham kept steadily to his London design. By his last will and testament, dated the 5th day of July, 1575, he ordained that the Lady Gresham should enjoy his now dwelling-house in Bishopsgate Street, as well as all the rents arising from the Royal Exchange, during her lifetime, in case she should survive him; but that from the period of her death both these properties should be vested in the hands of the Corporation of London and the Mercers' Company. These two bodies corporate were conjointly to nominate seven competent professors to read lectures successively, one on every day of the week, on the seven sciences of divinity, astronomy, music, geometry, law, medicine, and rhetoric. The lectures were to be delivered in Gresham House or College, and the professors were to be comfortably lodged

therein. The salaries of the lecturers, which were far more than defrayed by the rents arising from the Royal Exchange, were fixed at 50*l.* per annum each, a sum equivalent to at least 400*l.* or 500*l.* a year at the present day. It might have been expected from a financier and man of business like Gresham, that he would have foreseen that the increasing trade, industry, and ingenuity of the country would rapidly bring in money, and decrease the representative value of the pound sterling and of all other coin; that the rents derivable from the Royal Exchange must be rapidly raised in proportion; and that with this foresight he would have abstained from fixing the salaries according to the value of money and of the rents derivable from the Exchange in his day. But, in cases like this, an enlightened and high-minded legislature would so far interfere with the mere letter of a will as to alter it into the intention of the donor; and the real intention of Gresham could only have been that the seven professors should have and enjoy in all time to come what should be equivalent to the fifty pounds per annum of his own time, and the amount of which would be defrayed by the rising rents of the Exchange. Nothing could be more earnestly worded than all these portions of his will. He conjures the parties charged with the ad-



have free access to the lectures, would be quite capable of learning the higher sciences and the elegant arts. He instituted a lectureship upon astronomy at a time when the science was not taught in any school or university in this country, and when its rudiments were almost unknown. Ever since the destruction of the Chantries under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., the taste for music had been on the decline. Gresham included music among his endowed lectures, intending to give a new impulse to that delightful science in the capital of the empire. And, upon the whole, though subjected to disheartening inconveniences and long interruptions, the musical class of Gresham College appears to have conferred more benefit upon society than any of the other classes, or than all the others put together. If from the first there had been in each class or faculty a succession of professors like Mr. Taylor, the present excellent Gresham professor of music, Gresham College would never have become a nonentity or a laughing-stock, and a taste for the arts which civilize, adorn, and cheer the life of man would not have been allowed to perish or decline as it long did among those "in populous cities pent."

Nor did Sir Thomas Gresham forget in his will charities and pious uses. In his lifetime he had built at the back of his London mansion eight substantial alms-houses, and to the inmates of each of these houses he bequeathed the annual sum of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Furthermore he left 50*l.* a year to be distributed among the poor prisoners for debt in the London jails. These and other sums for charitable purposes were to be paid by the Corporation and the Mercers' Company, out of the revenues derived from the Exchange, for those rents amounted to more than 700*l.* per annum, and the salaries of the seven Gresham professorships came only to 350*l.* per annum. He left 100*l.* a-year to his Company for four dinners in the course of a year; and no doubt the worshipful Mercers, however careless as to other parts of his last *will and testament*, have taken especial care to keep up these celebrations, and to eat the dinners thus provided

for them; taking also into account the difference between the costs of a civic feast in the seventeenth and in the nineteenth century.

Gresham had an illegitimate daughter by a Flemish woman, whom he brought up in his own house in England. He is said to have given her a good education and a good dower. The last fact, at least, seems to be proved by the importance of the family into which she married. This Anne Gresham could call the great Lord Bacon brother-in-law: her husband was Sir Nathaniel Bacon, second son of Sir Nicholas, the Lord Keeper, by his first wife Jane Ferneley, sister to Lady Gresham. As her name does not occur in his will it is supposed that Gresham's daughter died before the year 1575, when that will was made.

Sir Thomas had no fewer than four or five stately mansions in the county of Norfolk, his favourite house in that county being at Intwood. Besides these he had a fine seat (Osterley) in the county of Middlesex, not far from Brentford; a magnificent old place (Mayfield) in Sussex, and apparently one or two houses in other parts of the kingdom, in which he occasionally resided. Osterley Park (now the property of the Countess of Jersey)



discovered that court double which the night had left single before. It is questionable whether the queen next day was more contented with the conformity to her fancy, or more pleased with the surprise and sudden performance thereof: whilst her courtiers disported themselves with their several expressions; some avowing it was no wonder he could so soon change a building who could build a 'Change; others (reflecting on some known differences in the knight's family) affirmed that 'any house is easier divided than united.'"^{*} It is not wealth that always makes the best temple for the household gods. It has been conjectured that many of our merchant's family differences arose out of his affection for his natural daughter; but it should appear that his wife was, on other matters, an irritable sour-tempered woman.

Old and wealthy as he was, the last moments of Sir Thomas's life were devoted to business. "On Saturday the 21st of November, 1579, between six and seven of the clock in the evening, coming from the Exchange to his house (which he had sumptuously builded) in Bishopsgate Street, he suddenly fell down in his kitchen, and being taken up, was found speechless, and presently dead."[†] By his death many large estates in several counties of England, amounting at that time to the yearly value of two thousand three hundred pounds and upwards, came to his lady, who survived him many years. He, in fact, took nothing from her; for neither Gresham House nor the rents of the Exchange were to be appropriated to the college until after her decease, and yet she begrudged those two well-intended donations, and quarrelled and litigated with the corporation about insignificant sums; and it is quite clear that if she could have annulled the will she would have done so in order to add Gresham House and the rents derived from the Exchange to the great estates which she left to her son by her first marriage. On the 15th of December, the remains of our great merchant were deposited in St.

^{*} Fuller, Worthies, vol. ii.

[†] Holinshed. Chronicle.

Helen's Church, Bishopsgate Street, close to his own house, and the resting-place of his son Richard. He had prepared for himself a sumptuous tomb or monument during his life-time: but neither his widow, nor his stepson William Read, who, after her, came into possession of the mass of his splendid fortune, ever went to the expense of putting an inscription on the tomb, and it remained without a date and without a name until the year 1736, when the following brief inscription was cut on the solid black marble slab which covers the alabaster tomb, by order of the churchwardens:

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM, KNIGHT,

Bury'd. Decem^{br}. the 15th 1579.

Lady Gresham twice attempted to act contrary to her husband's will; and wealthy as she was (being reputed the richest widow of those days) she tried hard to derive unfair advantages from that small portion of property, the rent derivable from the Exchange, &c., which was entrusted to her for her life-time only. And these things she did in spite of the solemn trust and confidence which her husband in his will said he placed in her as his faithful loving wife. Parliament was obliged to in-



much as the two corporations (the Mercers' Company and the City Corporation) would assuredly not employ the profits thereof according to the will of Sir Thomas Gresham in paying the seven professors. It is to be deplored that the greedy old lady was but too true a prophet. But the Lord Mayor and aldermen of the day met her petition with a spirited and convincing answer, which set the question at rest for that time. Nevertheless, the leases of twenty-one years, which had been granted by Sir Thomas to the tenants upon the Royal Exchange, being nearly expired in the year 1596, his widow prevailed upon them to take fresh leases of her for the like term of twenty-one years at the old rent, together with the addition of a fine amounting to 4000*l*. The greater part of the fine was paid to her ladyship not many months before the estate, in conformity with Sir Thomas's will, came into possession of the Corporation of London and the Mercers' Company. Thus, the widow made it quite evident, that regardless of the solemn injunctions of her husband's will, she was more anxious to get money for herself and her son and heir, William Read, Esq., than to settle Gresham College, or to give to it that which Sir Thomas had bequeathed. When a party so near to the testator could thus disregard his intentions, it is less surprising, though still lamentable, that others at a distant period of time should heap dirt upon the last testament. The reader will be indifferent about the fact (perhaps he may believe that the old woman is still alive, and presiding with an undiminished selfishness over some of the civic incorporations), but she died, at a very old age, on the 23rd of November, 1596, at Osterley Park. Her son, and the heir to her vast property, William Read, Esquire, was a genial successor. He must have been a grasping and a very litigious man, for the little that is known of his history is known through lawsuits. He stirred not a step nor moved a finger for the execution of Gresham's liberal intentions.

In the year 1614, the twelfth of King James I., and eighteen years after the death of Gresham's widow—and not earlier—the two corporations entrusted with the

management of Gresham College obtained a patent from the crown to hold for ever the rents of the Royal Exchange and the mansion-house in Bishopsgate Street, upon the terms and conditions expressed in the last will of the donor. But before this time they had put themselves in possession of the property, and after consulting the universities, had appointed persons "meet to read the several lectures." They took possession of the property in the month of December, 1596, just after the funeral of the old widow. The trustees drew up a set of rules to direct the professors as to the manner in which they should manage their lectures. If these rules had been adhered to, Gresham College would have been of inestimable value to the community. These citizens clearly understood that the lectures were meant, and ought to be, practical, popular, and attractive; and that to deliver them in Latin, or to make them difficult, abstruse, and drily theoretical, would be a defeating of the end proposed by Gresham. Under these good rules and other good regulations, which seem for a time to have been carefully attended to by the trustees and by the professors they appointed, Gresham College rose into celebrity, and attained to much of the usefulness contemplated by its founder, who had taught the citizens by

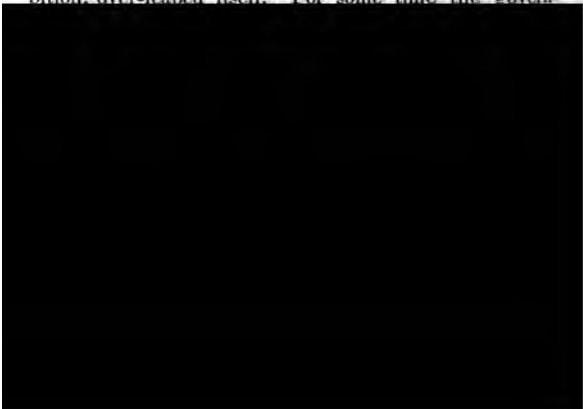


was within the walls of that house that the members of that Society first congregated and tried their experiments in physic. After the great fire of London which destroyed the Exchange, the Gresham professors placed their rooms for a time at the disposal of their fellow-citizens. The building became a temporary mansion-house as well as a temporary Exchange; some of the spacious rooms were converted into courts of law, and others were fitted up as a residence for the Lord Mayor; shops were erected in the piazzas and galleries, and the merchants assembled at 'Change hours in the quadrangle.

During the seventeenth century we find a good many eminent names among the Gresham professors, as Dr. Barrow, Sir William Petty, Sir Christopher Wren, Briggs, Hooke, Greaves, Bull the Music Doctor, &c. But as early as the year 1701, the trustees of the Gresham property entirely fell off from their duty, and having already made extensive innovations, and suspended for two years all payments to the professors, they petitioned Parliament to allow them to make great and lasting changes. Parliament refused its assent to the prayer of the petition; but from this moment the college, the building, and everything connected with it, appear to have been shamefully neglected; the two wealthy trustee corporations pleading poverty, and feasting away more sumptuously and gluttonously than ever. As the auditory fell off, the city magnates thought that any man was good enough for a dumb or a non-lecturing professor; and in some instances they put broken-down tradesmen, or connexions, or dependants, or mere lacqueys of their own into the college, in order that they might draw the annual salaries which the founder had intended for the support of competent and eminent men. The institution became contemptible in the eyes of the citizens, and the citizens had not taste and spirit enough to take any steps or to raise any reproach against the two trustee corporations. In the year 1706, however, some citizens of a higher and more intellectual order made strenuous efforts for obtaining the revival and restitution of the lectures. But the city magnates were not to be

moved ; and so nothing was done of the least consequence. The two trustee corporations were thinking much less about keeping up the lectures than of knocking down the great house in which they were given and making large sums by letting out the ground upon building leases. In the year 1717 they again petitioned Parliament for leave to knock down the college, &c. Still, however, they had the conscience or decency to state, that if this permission were granted by the legislature, they would erect upon part of the site another building capable of accommodating the professors and such as went to hear them. Their petition was again rejected. Thus did the government and Parliament of King William III. and George I. show more reverence for the will of Sir Thomas Gresham, and more regard for an institution intended for the enlightenment of the citizens of London than were shown afterwards by a government and a Parliament of George III.

As the value of the ground-plot continued to rise rapidly, the trustees became proportionably more eager to carry out their old scheme. Their exceeding eagerness drove them in the end into a very bad bargain, even for themselves. Their greed, like other men's ambition, over-leaped itself. For some time the govern-



y was) the whole of the ground on which Gresham College stood ! Nor was this all. By the Act of Parliament the City Corporation and the Mercers' Company, joint trustees and guardians of this property, were bid "to pay the sum of 1800*l.* within the space of one month from the passing of the Act, for and towards the expense of pulling down the same." "That is,"

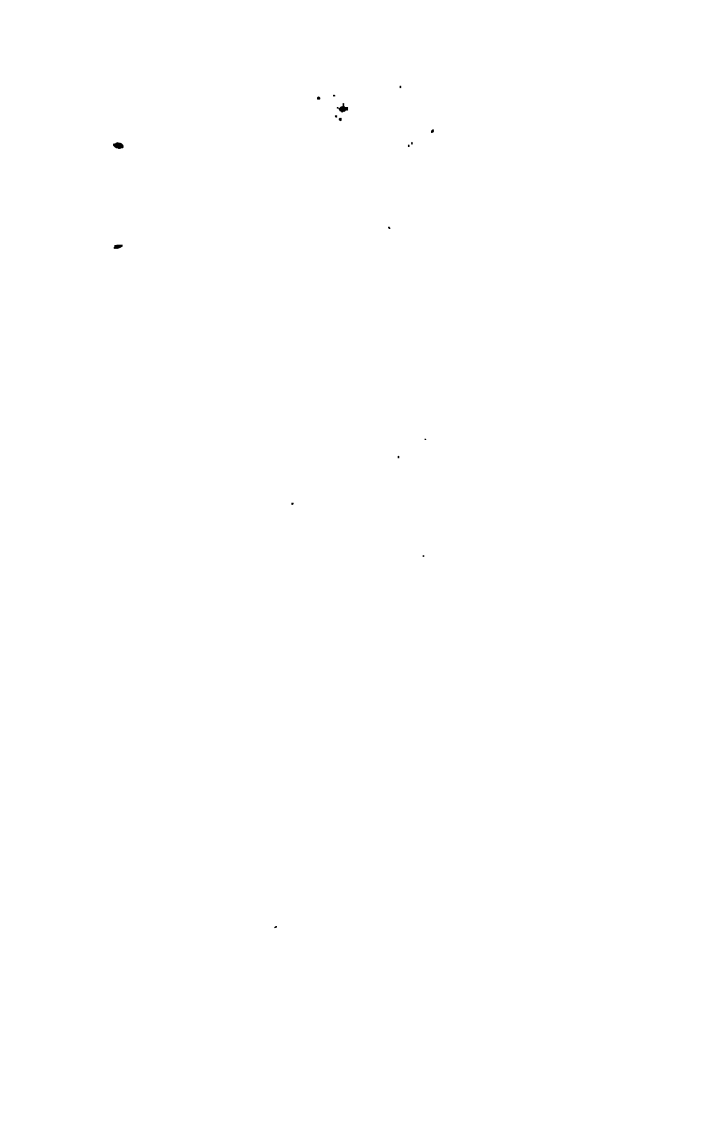
the excellent living Gresham professor of music, they were constrained by an especial law, framed for that purpose, to commit a gross and flagrant violation of their trust, and to employ those very funds which Sir Thomas Gresham had vested in them for the support and maintenance of his college, in demolishing and despoiling it!"*

The work of demolition was begun on the 8th of August, 1768 ; and in brief space of time the Excise Office came to show its shameless face on the spot where the college had once been. If the citizens of London alone had felt as they ought, the corporation of London and the mystery of mercers would not have trafficked away their rights and the rights of their posterity, and the legislature would no more have dared to demolish Gresham College than it would have dared to knock down the cathedral of St. Paul's. But the citizens had become gross and unintellectual, were indifferent to the giving of lectures, which had been allowed to become venal, and careless about the preservation of rights and emoluments which had been so shamelessly abused by trustees and professors. It was because the city did nothing about Gresham College that Gresham College was destroyed. It was only known to them as a place where a few prosing men, at very inconvenient hours for men of business and of feasts, read or spoke of astronomy, mathematics, law, medicine, and music. It does not appear, either from the newspapers or from other publications of the day, that any effort whatsoever was made by the citizens of London to perpetuate the existence of their only college.

* *Edward Taylor. Inaugural Lectures.*

To compensate the worthless or neglectful Gresham professors for the loss of their apartments in the old college, their salaries were raised from 50*l.* to 100*l.* a year. A small, dirty, dusky room in an upper story of the old or second Royal Exchange was selected by the ignorant and enlightened trustees of the Gresham proper to be "a proper and convenient room for the public exhibition of the lectures;" and there, at very inconvenient hours during Term time, certain of the Gresham professors drawled out vapid nonsense to a thin and sneering assembly until that edifice was consumed by fire. After the catastrophe the learned body met occasionally in the City of London School; and there Mr. Taylor delivered those inaugural lectures from which we have repeatedly quoted. This gentleman has done more than any other, or than all other persons put together, to awaken interest in the public mind for the shipwrecked institution to which he belongs. The joint trustees of the two schools recently built a lecture-room in Gresham Street; they must do more than this ere they can be relieved from the weight of the odium accumulated by their predecessors and themselves.









GEORGE BUCHANAN was born in February, 1506, at a small village called Killearn, on the borders of Stirlingshire and Dumbartonshire, and received his early education, it is said, in the school of that parish. He came, he says, "of a family more gentle and ancient than wealthy." His father dying, left a wife and eight children in a state of poverty. George, one of the youngest, was befriended, and, perhaps, saved from want and obscurity, by the kindness of his mother's brother, James Meriot, who had early remarked his nephew's talents, and determined to foster them by a good education. The ancient friendship between France and Scotland, cemented by their mutual hate of England, was then in full force. The Scotch respected the superiority of the French in manners, arts, and learning; and very commonly sent the wealthier and more promising of their youth to be educated by their more polished neighbours. Accordingly Buchanan, at the age of fourteen, was sent

Latin writers of modern times.

After having remained in Paris for years, which he must have employed purpose than most youths of his age, the uncle reduced him again to poverty. count, partly from ill health, he returned to his country, and spent a year at home. When he recovered his strength, he entered as a colonel in a body of troops that was brought over by John duke of Albany, then regent of France, for the purpose of opposing the English. He says that he went into the army "to war;" it is probable that his needy condition had more weight than this reason. During the war he was subjected to great hardships from cold and snow; in consequence of which he recovered from his former illness; and was obliged to return to his country, where he was confined to his bed during the winter. But on his recovery, in the spring of the year when he was just entering upon his eighteenth year, he again took to his studies, and pursued them with great ardour. He seems to have found friends

contemporaries tell us, to lead whichever way his friends desired him to go; he was also of inquiring disposition, and never could endure absurdities of any kind. This sort of mind must have found great delight in the doctrines which Major taught. He affirmed the superiority of general councils over the papacy, even to the depriving a pope of his spiritual authority in case of misdemeanour; he denied the lawfulness of the pope's temporal sway; he held that tithes were an institution of mere human appointment, which might be dropped or changed at the pleasure of the people; he railed bitterly against the immoralities and abominations of the Romish priesthood. In political matters his creed coincides exactly with Buchanan's published opinions,—that the authority of kings was not of divine right, but was solely through the people, for the people; that by a lawful convention of states, any king, in case of tyranny or misgovernment, might be controlled, divested of his power, or capitally executed according to circumstances. But if Major, who was a weak man and a bad arguer, had such weight with Buchanan, John Knox, the celebrated Scotch reformer, who was a fellow-student with him at St. Andrew's, must have had still more. They began a strict friendship at this place, which only ended with their lives. Knox speaks very highly of him at a late period of his own life: "That notabil man, Mr. George Bucquhanane, remainis alyve to this day, in the yeir of God, 1566 yeares, to the glory of God, to the gret honor of this natioun, and to the comfort of thame that delyte in letters and vertew. That singular work of David's Psalmes, in Latin meetere and poesie, besyd many uther, can witness the rare graices of God gevin to that man." These two men speedily discovered the absurdity of the art of logic, as it was then taught. Buchanan tell us that its *proper* name was the art of sophistry. Their mutual longings for better reasonings, and better thoughts to reason upon, produced great effects in the reformation of their native country.

After Buchanan had finished his studies at St. Andrew's, and taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts, he accompanied Major to Paris, where his attention was more seri-

only turned towards the doctrines of the Reformation, which at that time were eagerly and warmly discussed; but whether from fear of the consequences, or from other motives, he did not then declare himself to be a Lutheran. For five years he remained abroad, sometimes employed, sometimes in considerable want; at the end of which time he returned to Scotland with the young Earl of Cassilis, by whom he had been engaged as a travelling companion. His noble patron introduced him at the court of James V. the father of Mary Stuart. James retained him as tutor to his natural son, James Stuart, afterwards Abbot of Kelso. It has been proved that he was *not* tutor to the king's other natural son, James Stuart, afterwards Earl of Murray and regent of Scotland, whose first title was Prior of St. Andrew's.

While he was at court, or perhaps while residing with the Earl of Cassilis, having a good deal of leisure, he amused himself with writing a pretty severe satire on the monks, to which he gives the name of 'Somnium.' He feigns in this piece that Saint Francis d'Assize had appeared to him in a dream, and besought him to become a monk of his order. The poet answers, "that he is nowise fit for the purpose; because he could not find in his heart to become slavish, impudent, deceitful, or haughty."



come a Cordelier, upon which he tells him that he also had had a similar intention, but had been dissuaded from it by a third person, whose reasons he proceeds to relate. They turn upon the wretched morals and conduct of those who belonged to the order, as exhibited in the abominable lessons which he puts in the mouth of an ancient monk, the instructor of the novices. He does not give this man the character of a rough and ignorant priest, but makes him tell his tale cleverly, giving free vent to every refinement in evil which the age was acquainted with, and speaking the most home truths of his brethren without fear or scruple. The Latin is pure, and free from the barbarisms of the time.

After such a caustic production, it is no wonder that the party assailed made use of every means to destroy its author. The king, who was a weak and variable man, after much importunity on their part, allowed them to have Buchanan arrested in the year 1539, on the plea of heresy, along with many others who held his opinions about the state of the Scottish church. Cardinal Beaton, above all others, used his best endeavours to procure sentence against him ; he even bribed the king to effect his purpose. But Buchanan's friends gave him timely warning of the prelate's exertions, and, as he was not very carefully guarded, he made his escape out of the window of his prison, and fled to England. He found, however, that England was no safe place for him, for at that time Henry VIII. was burning, on the same day and at the same stake, both Protestant and Papist, with the most unflinching impartiality. He went over, therefore, for the third time into France ; but on his arrival at Paris, finding his old enemy the Cardinal Beaton ambassador at the French court, and being fearful that means might be taken to have him arrested, he closed with the offer of a learned Portuguese, Andrea di Govca, to become a tutor at the new college at Bordeaux. During his residence there he composed his famous Latin Tragedies, 'Jephthes' and 'Joannes Baptistes,' and translated the *Medea* of Euripides into Latin metre, for the youth of his college. The last shows that his ac-

acquaintance with the Greek language was by no means superficial. But being continually harassed by the clergy under letters from Cardinal Beatoun, who had traced his retreat, he removed to Paris, and from the year 1544 till about 1547 taught Latin in the college of the Cardinal de la Moine, along with the learned philologists Turnebus and Muretus.

After holding this situation for about three years. Buchanan went with Govca, in 1547, at the instance of the King of Portugal, to a lately established school at Coimbra, in which he subsequently became regent. Before he ventured into Portugal, however, he took care to let the king know that his Franciscanus was undertaken at the command of his sovereign, and therefore ought nowise to endanger his safety in Portugal. The king promised him his protection. But he had not been at Coimbra long, before he was accused by the monks of heresy, and the king, forgetting his promise, allowed them to keep Buchanan prisoner in a convent, as they declared, for the purpose of reclaiming him. They gave him as a penance the task of translating the Psalms of David from the Vulgate into Latin verse. This he accomplished to admiration; and his production is acknowledged to surpass all works of the like sort. The metres



Scotland, the reformed religion being then prevalent there, and became publicly a member of the Protestant Kirk.

The most important, because the most public part of Buchanan's life now begins. Such a man could not long remain unnoticed by the great in Scotland, and Mary Stuart herself became one of his best friends. He had written for her two epithalamia, one on her marriage with the Dauphin, and one on her marriage with Lord Darnley, and we find him in the beginning of the year 1562 classical tutor to the young queen. For his services in that capacity she gave him a pension of 100*l.* Scots a-year for life out of the temporalities of the Abbey of Crossragwell; and in the year 1566 the Earl of Murray, her brother, to whom he had dedicated a new edition of his 'Franciscanus,' presented him with the place of principal of St. Leonard's College at St. Andrew's. The following year he was chosen Moderator of the General Assembly of the church of Scotland, which was a still more extraordinary homage to his character and various abilities.

In 1570 he resigned the office of principal of St. Leonard's college, having been appointed one of the receptors to the young King James, then in the fourth year of his age.

It is a matter of no small wonder, that Buchanan, who was James's most influential tutor, for the three others, who were joined in the commission with him, were under his superintendence, should have educated him as he did, or make him what he was. A book which Buchanan published, and which is among the most famous of his works, 'De Jure Regni apud Scotos,' being a conversation between himself and Maitland the Queen's secretary, contains (though dedicated to his royal pupil) sentiments totally at variance with all the notions of James. In it Buchanan follows the ancient models of what was thought a perfect state of policy. He proves that men were born to live socially,—that they elected kings to protect the laws which bind them together,—that if new laws are made by kings, they must be also *subjected to the opinion of the states of the nation,—that*

a king is the father of his people for good, not for evil, —that this was the original intention in the choice of Scottish kings,—that the crown is not necessarily hereditary, and that its transmission by natural descent but for its certainty is not defensible,—that a violation of the laws by the monarch may be punished even to death according to the enormity of it,—that when St. Paul talks of obedience to authorities he spoke to a low condition of persons and to a minority in the various countries in which they were,—that it is not necessary that a king should be tried by his peers. He concludes by saying, “that if in other countries the people chose to exalt their kings above the laws, it seems to have been the evident intention of Scotland to make her kings inferior to them.” In matters of religion he rails against episcopal authority of all kinds. Now nothing can be more opposed than all this to the opinions of James, who most strongly upheld the divine right of kings, and episcopal authority. Buchanan, when he was accused of making James a pedant, declared it to be “because he was fit for nothing else.” He was a stern and unyielding master, and no sparer of the rod, even though applied to the back of royalty; and this may in some measure account for the want of influence which he had



when appointed one of the commissioners to inquire into Mary's conduct, she being a prisoner in England. Buchanan too lies under the serious charge of having forged the controverted letters, supposed to have passed between Mary and her third husband Bothwell, while she was yet the wife of Earl Darnley, from which documents it was made to appear that she was art and part in the murder of her royal consort. Whether he really forged these letters or not, is a question perhaps too deeply buried in the dust of antiquity to admit of proof. He offered to swear to their genuineness, however, which was an ill return, if that were all his fault, to the kindness he had received from her. His friendship for Murray continued firm all his life; this man was one of the few persons he seems to have been really attached to. Through the Earl's interest, Buchanan, in 1570, had the place of Director of the Chancery for his services conferred upon him, and soon afterwards those of Lord Privy Seal and Lord of Session. The office of keeper of the Scottish seals was a highly honourable and lucrative office, and entitled its holder to a seat in parliament. He retained it till at least 1578, when he nominally resigned it in favour of his nephew, Thomas Buchanan, of Ibbert. In the same year, 1578, he was joined in several parliamentary commissions, legal and ecclesiastical; and particularly in a commission issued to visit and reform the universities and colleges of the kingdom. The scheme of reformation suggested, and afterwards approved of by parliament, was drawn up by him. The same year also he brought forth his celebrated treatise 'De Jure Regni apud Scotos.' Nothing is told us of his abilities as a practical politician, but it may be supposed that he was fitted for the office he held, for Murray was very careful in the choice of his public servants.

Buchanan's last work, on which he spent the remaining fourteen years of his life, is yet to be spoken of,—his 'History of Scotland.' In this, which like the rest of his productions was written in Latin, he has been said to unite the elegance of Livy with the brevity of Sallust. *With this praise, however, and with that which is due*

books. The first three contain a long derivation of the name of Britain,—a description of Scotland, with some poetic ancient manners and customs,—a treatise of the inhabitants of Britain, chiefly taken from accounts of the bards, and the fables grafted on them, on the vestiges of and on the resemblances of the various different parts of the island. The real history does not begin till the fourth book, which contains an account of a regular succession of eight kings, from Fergus I. to James I. tending from the beginning of the sixteenth to the end of the sixteenth. The apocryphal greater part of these monarchs is now so lost, that it is unnecessary to dilate upon them, as is well known, destroyed all the genuine Scottish history which he could find. The author, of rejecting the absurd traditionary traditions of the monks, has merely laboured to dress up a new history for the honour of Scotland, and to exhibit all the beauties and graces of fictitious history.

ish peers, arising from the assassination of the Earl Murray; the other, a severe satire against Secretary and, for the readiness with which he changed from to party: this has the title of 'Chameleon.'

Buchanan died at the good old age of seventy-four, in dotage as his enemies said, but in full vigour of , as his last great work, his History, has proved. It has been said in his dispraise by enemies of his class, his chief detractors being the partisans of Stuart and the Romish priesthood. The first of these accuse him of ingratitude to Major, Mary, Mor-Maitland, and to others of his benefactors; of forging the letters above mentioned, and of perjury in swearing to them. The latter accuses him of dishonesty, of drunkenness, and falsehood; and one of them has descended so far as to quarrel with his personal ugliness. Of these charges many are, to say the least, unproved; many appear to be altogether unfounded.

But his fame rests rather on his persevering industry, his excellent scholarship, and his fine genius, than upon his moral qualities. Buchanan wrote his History in Latin two years before his death. To this we refer, to Mackenzie's 'Lives and Characters of the Eminent Writers of the Scots Nation,' to David Hume's 'Memoirs of his Life,' to the 'Biographia Britannica,' and the numerous authorities on insulated points there quoted, we may refer those who wish to know more on this subject.

There are two collective editions of the works of Buchanan. One is by Ruddiman, published at Edinburgh in 1715, in two vols. folio. The other is by James Burman, Lug.-Bat., 1725, in two vols. 4to. In the first the editor has, besides his own critical annotations, incorporated the notes, dissertations, &c. of his predecessor.



In judging of the characters of eminent men it is an excel-
lent general rule to put aside the opinions that they



SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.



Sir Philip Sidney. We ought not to take them upon us from contemporary opinion, or from the opinion, scarcely less unanimous and enthusiastic, of posterity. To borrow a phrase from his gracious mistress, Sidney would have been the first to express his "foul scorn" of his treatment; but undoubtedly it is necessary, after weighing carefully all that he did, to judge what he would have done had the ordinary term of man's life been granted. But alas! as he says, it too often happens to the

"noble gold down to the bottom goes,
When worthless cork, aloft, doth floating lie.

ney died in his *thirty-third* year. A brief life; yet let us see what he accomplished in it: the facts are among the most instructive lessons ever bequeathed to the world.

Sidney himself in the 'Arcadia,' and Ben Jonson in some of his poems, have given us delightful pictures of an elegant and noticeable manor-house. The former says the house "was built of fair and strong stone, not affecting much any extraordinary kind of fineness as an honourable representing of a firm stateliness. The lights, doors, and windows, rather directed to the use of the guest than to the eye of the artificer, and yet as the one [was] carefully heeded, so [was] the other not neglected; each once, handsome without curiosity, and homely without shyness; not so dainty as not to be trod upon, nor cluttered up with good fellowship; all more lasting than beautiful, but that the consideration of the exceeding singleness made the eye believe it was exceedingly beautiful." There can be no doubt that this is the same house as the one described by Jonson; which was not

"built to envious show
Of touch or marble,"

an ancient and revered pile, whose beauty consisted in its surrounding soil, air, wood, and water, which had walks for health as well as sport, and the mount where *Dryads* resorted, and

"Where Pan and Bacchus their high feasts have made,
Beneath the broad beech and the chesnut shade."

The attractive character of the scenery without was but a type of the hospitality within. In that mansion they "knew," says Sidney, "that *provision* is the foundation of *hospitality*, and *thrift* the fuel of *magnificence*;" hence the extent of the buildings, and the grand scale of all the arrangements; hence the admirable system of management, that knew no waste. And here every guest might feel himself at home—might eat and drink and enjoy himself, without fear. Here too old customs were preserved in all their simplicity and kindliness. Here, for instance, the tenants, according to Jonson, would come in, the farmer and the clown,

"And no one empty handed, to salute

The lord and lady, though they have no suit.

Some bring a capou, some a rural cake,

Some nuts, some apples; some that think they make

The better cheeses bring 'em;—or else send

By their ripe daughters, whom they would commend

This way to husbands, and whose baskets bear

An emblem of themselves, in plum or pear."

In that mansion too all its numerous residents were



Sir Henry Sidney, a man of "excellent natural wit, large heart, and sweet conversation:" and whose ability as a statesman was put to the severest possible test by Elizabeth when she conferred upon him the government of Ireland, and he passed honourably through the ordeal: Edmund Spenser was but one among the many who bore testimony to the wisdom of his rule. Add, to the qualifications here evidenced, the deepest love for and pride in his son, and we may judge how unwearied must have been the care and how potential the guidance that Sir Henry Sidney exercised over the future poet-hero of England. A letter of his still exists that was written to Philip in 1566, whilst he was at school at Shrewsbury, which is admirable for the spirit and the sterling character of its advice. And if ever father had his reward, he had it. The seed fell upon no barren soil. Already the boy of twelve years old was distinguished for his intelligence and for a gravity beyond his years; and from this time we shall find him constantly addressing himself, step by step, to the great business of self-culture, and of worldly duty and occupation; seduced by no temptations, deterred by no difficulties, enduring with cheerful patience the utmost severities of intellectual or physical toil. Of course, the first step is to master what other men have already mastered, and can usefully teach. He goes to the University in 1569; he becomes a member of Christ Church, Oxford, and begins immediately to "cultivate the whole circle of arts and sciences; his capacious and comprehensive mind aspiring to pre-eminence in every part of knowledge attainable by human industry or genius." And the gigantic character of the attempt was triumphantly justified by the result. An interesting glimpse of Sidney at the University has been given us by Carew, the historian of Cornwall, who says, "being a scholar at Oxford, of fourteen years of age, and three years' standing, upon a wrong conceived opinion touching my sufficiency, I was then called to dispute *extempore* with the matchless Sir Philip Sidney, in presence of the Earls of Leicester and Warwick, and divers *ther great personages.*" The Earl of Leicester, who

was the High Chancellor of the University, was Philip's uncle. Three years soon passed, and Philip Sidney had then nothing more to learn that colleges could teach him.

What next?—The continental tour, of course. He must see personally the countries and the people with whom he may in after life have so much to do, whether in peace or in war. He would see, too, the great men of whom he had heard as the chief continental ornaments of letters. Above all, he would learn whatever there may be to learn, by moving among persons of different religious, political, and social views and customs; and so modify, at least, by the larger experience of the man of the world, the narrow and self-sufficient ideas that are apt to occupy the mind and guide the conduct of "home-keeping youth." Sidney set out for the Continent at a critical and dangerous time. Whilst he was at Paris the great massacre of St. Bartholomew took place; and he was compelled, as a Protestant, to seek the shelter of the house of the English ambassador, Sir Francis Walsingham, a gentleman to whom he had been introduced by the Earl of Leicester, and whose daughter he subsequently married. As yet, however, that connection was undreamt of. Another, and more absorbing and eventful one, was to be first formed and broken



royal household, who taught Sidney and Edward Wotton horsemanship; "and he, according to the fertility of the Italian wit, did not only afford us the demonstration of his practice, but sought to enrich our minds with the contemplation therein, which he thought most precious. But with none, I remember, mine ears were at any time more laden, than when (either angered with slow payment or moved with our learner-like admiration) he exercised his speech in the praise of his faculty. He said, soldiers were the noblest estate of mankind, and horsemen the noblest of soldiers. He said they were the masters of war and ornaments of peace, speedy goers and strong abiders, triumphers both in camp and courts: nay, to so unbelieved a point he proceeded, as that no earthly thing had such wonder to a prince as to be a good horseman; skill of government was but a *Pedanteria* in comparison. Then would he add certain praises by telling what a fearless beast the horse was, the only serviceable courtier, without flattery, the beast of most beauty, faithfulness, courage, and much more, that if I had not been a piece of a logician before I came to him, I think he would have persuaded me to have wished myself a horse." Sidney however did not do that,—he did not even take into his heart his teacher's notions of the soldier's inestimable and transcendent value; what he did was this—he made himself a perfect horseman and soldier, as he knew such accomplishments were indispensably necessary; but for the rest of Gio. Pietro Pugliano's many "words," their only effect was to teach Sidney that "self-love is better than any gilding, to make that seem gorgeous wherein ourselves be parties." Altogether, it is evident, Sidney had good reason to be satisfied with his continental journey; and thus three years more passed over; and he returned to England in 1575. It was probably not very long after this, that Sir Henry had occasion to write another of his letters of advice; but it was a younger brother of Philip, Henry, who was the recipient. And how does the father direct this son into the best paths for the attainment of knowledge and virtue? "Follow," he writes, "the advice of

your most loving brother, who in loving you is comparable with me, or exceedeth me. Imitate his virtues, exercises, studies, and actions. He is a rare ornament of his age; the very formula that all well-disposed young gentlemen of the court do form also their manners and life by. In truth I speak it without flattery of him, or myself, he hath the most virtues that I ever found in any man." This is, we presume, without known exception, the most striking testimony ever given by a father to the excellences of a son. And it may show us what the character and attainments of Philip Sidney were, before any sufficient earnest of them were given to the world; before, in short, he had *done* anything that would be thought of, by the men of a later generation. In connection with the subject of the letter just mentioned, we may observe in passing, that there is preserved at Penshurst, a picture by Gerard, of an exceedingly interesting kind, representing Philip and Robert Sidney standing side by side, their arms linked together; the former looking the Protector, and the latter the Protected, to the very life.

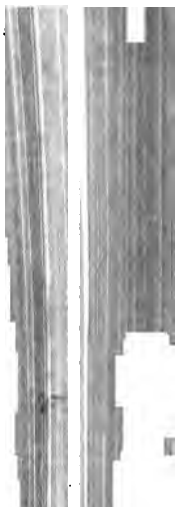
And now, as this letter shows us, Sidney had, after most comprehensive preparations, plunged into the world, and was already a courtier, winning the same kind of



in a heart of courtesy." The court could best appreciate the "heart of courtesy;" but what Sidney desired was worthy employment for the "high erected thought:" so he was speedily employed. He was sent to Vienna upon an honourable but not very important mission; then returned, and presently astonished every one, from the queen downwards, by his remonstrance against the proposed marriage of Elizabeth with the Duke of Anjou,—a measure that Catherine de Medicis of France was very anxious to carry into effect, but which was looked upon with dread and horror by the Protestant people of this country.

The remonstrance has been admired for its unusual elegance of expression, as well as for its force of reasoning, by one who was a consummate master in both qualities—Hume. But the patriotic character of the act itself is the grand thing to reflect upon. For expressing such views many persons were imprisoned, and some mutilated; and, if Sidney had no reason to fear that matters would be carried to such extremities with him, he had, what men generally would call, overwhelming motives for holding his peace: to mention but one, it was exceedingly probable that he was closing for ever against him the palace doors, and all that lay beyond, as state honours, public employment, reputation. Nevertheless the remonstrance was made; and such was the respect, love, and admiration that the queen seems to have felt for him, that she received it patiently, as though coming from one who could not have intended to wound or to injure her. Sidney has said in the 'Arcadia,' "Men are loving creatures, when injuries put them not from their natural course." Assuredly he at least (perhaps because of his own love) almost ever found it so. It will be acknowledged that something had now been done; but it was to be speedily followed by a much more important achievement.

Sidney, it appears, had never learnt, among all his acquirements, that there was any essential difference between a mere gentleman like himself, and one who might happen to have his gentility crowned by the coronet of the



a right to expect, and was com-
tress could urge as to difference
from the court, buried himself in
of Wilton, the seat of the Earl of
the 'Arcadia.' He has himself na-
advised him to undertake this task,
it was executed. In the dedicatio-
his sister, the Countess of Pembroke
son's famous epitaph, he says—

"Here now have you (most dear
be dear, lady!) this idle work of mine
the spider's web, will be though
away, than worn to any other purpose
very truth (as the cruel fathers are
wont to do to the babes they would
well find in my heart to cast out in-
fulness this child, which I am loth
desired me to do it, and your desire
absolute commandment. Now, it is
only to you: if you keep it to your
such friends who will weigh error
good will, I hope, for the father's
done. perchance made much of. th

we have met with is that given by the author of the of Sidney, that is prefixed to his works (fourteenth edition, 1725), who says, "the 'Arcadia' is a continual scene of morality, shadowing moral and politick results under the plain and easy emblems of lovers;" who are ever wandering to and fro in this "grove," expecting all sorts of adventures. The 'Arcadia' is, in short, a rose pastoral, with a latent—and, on the whole, perhaps, much too latent—application to the affairs of the world, and especially to that portion of it which Sidney had desired to see become Arcadian in simplicity, virtue, and happiness. It is tedious to read as a whole; all particulars are (unless it be that pretty "Newgate pastoral" 'The Beggar's Opera,' of which Swift speaks), and much of it, indeed, seems written as an exercise. Thus we have poetical pieces interspersed, of every different kind—eclogues—songs—sapphics—epitaphs—and one chameleon—tales; thus we have verses of all possible variety as to length of feet and number of lines. But through the whole run veins of the purest ores of poesy, of knowledge, and a truly startling knowledge of man and men, considering the youth of the author. You cannot glance over the pages in the most hurried manner, but you see them rising at frequent intervals to the surface, and presenting some bright and beautiful fancy, or some weighty and elevated thought, calculated at once to gladden and enrich the wayfarer. A coward is one "whose faithful never comprehend the mysteries of courage." On the same subject he has in verse,

"Pain is more pain than is the pain it fears."

Certain governor is "not of the modern minds, who made lords magistrates; but did ever think the *unwilling* *thy man* were fitter than the *undeserving desirer*." We may learn from this remark, in what spirit Sidney, prepared to govern, should opportunity be ever offered to him. In the following passages we may discover something of the principles that actuated him through life, and made him an illustrious and a happy man: "Whoever in great things will think to prevent all ob-

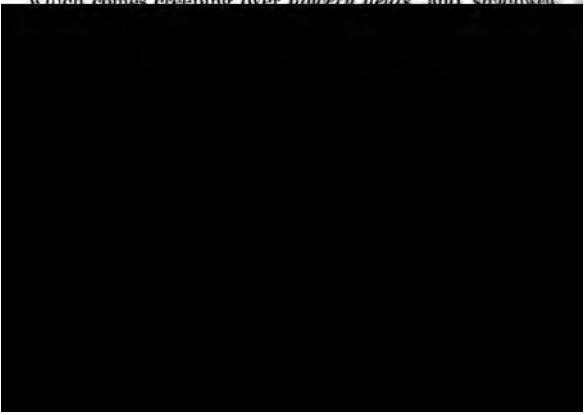
jections, must lie still and do nothing." Elsewhere he observes the "highest point outward things can bring us unto, is the contentment of the mind; with which, no estate—without which, all estates—be miserable." And yet again—"They are never alone, said I, that are accompanied with noble thoughts." As to his knowledge of the world, let a couple of touches suffice:—"Who prayeth his servants, shall never be well obeyed." There is "nothing more terrible to a guilty heart, than the eye of a respected friend."

It might be said of the 'Arcadia,' that for the most part the prose is poetry, and the poetry prose; but there are, notwithstanding, exquisite things among the verses, as for example,

"If the spheres senseless do yet hold a music,
If the swan's voice be not heard but as death,
If the mute timber when it hath the life lost
Yieldeth a lute's tone."

Do not the following passages recall to the reader's mind a strain of well-known poetic music, that seems to half repeat and wholly to have been suggested by them?

"Her breath is more sweet than a gentle south-west wind,
which comes creeping over flowery fields, and shadowed



of Sidney than any we have yet mentioned, when he sat down to write the 'Arcadia;' and that was to embody in the discourses of the lovers the ebbings and flowings of his own passion for the lady whom he has immortalized in a series of beautiful poems, under the name of Stella, and who appears in the 'Arcadia' as Philoclea. This was Lady Penelope Devereux. She has been painted by Sidney in colours that belong only to the poet-lover. Of "her hair," for instance, he says, "alas! too poor a word, why should I not rather call them her beams?" And in another part he thus playfully describes the condition in which the lover of Philoclea is placed:—"The force of love to these poor folk, that feel it, is many ways very strange, but no way stranger than that it doth so enchain the lover's judgment upon her that holds the reins of his mind, that whatsoever she doth is ever in his eyes the best. . . . If she sits still, that is best, for so is the conspiracy of her several graces held best together to make one perfect figure of beauty. If she walk, no doubt that is best, for, besides she making happy the more places by her steps, the very stirring adds a pleasing life to her native perfections. If she be silent, that without comparison is best, since by that means the untroubled eye most freely may devour the sweetness of his object. But if she speak, he will take it upon his death that is best, the quintessence of each word being distilled down into his affected soul." But whilst there are many indications of Sidney's position as a lover to be found in the 'Arcadia,' they are too distant and uncertain to be much relied on; it is in that charming collection of sonnets entitled 'Astrophel and Stella' that we must look for the means to trace the entire progress and issue of this passion; and for what has since become of infinitely greater importance—the materials with which to determine the true height and breadth of Sidney's poetic reputation. A kindred spirit has written,

"Poets are cradled into wrong;
They learn in sufferance what they teach in song;"

and there can be little doubt that, though in the progress of this connection Sidney knew all the usual alternations of the lover—now raised in his hopes to the stars, now sunk to the deepest abysses of gloom—there was on the whole a sad preponderance of "sufferance." Through-out these sonnets he assumes a more earnest, as well as in every way a more powerful and elevated tone. The first sonnet expresses his own consciousness of this in a very charming manner: it also shows the lover-like object he had in view in the composition of the series:—

- Loving in truth, and fain in verse my love to show,
That she, dear she, might take some pleasure of my pain,
Pleasure might cause her read, reading might make her
know.

Knowledge might pity win, and pity grace obtain:
I sought fit words to paint the blackest face of woe,
Studying inventions fine, her wits to entertain—
 Oft turning others' leaves, to see if thence would flow
Some fresh and fruitful showers upon my sun-burn'd brain:
But words came halting forth, wanting invention's stay,
Invention, Nature's child, fled step-dame Study's blows,
And others' feet still seem'd but strangers in my way.

Thus great with child to speak, and helpless in my throes,
Biting my truant pen, beating myself for spite;—

And I would my Muse to me, look in the heart, and write."

consciousness of his lofty excellences of mind and character, were it only by seeing them everywhere reflected back upon her by the opinions of others who were the most worthy to give an opinion; but there seems to have ended all Lady Devereux's sympathy with or understanding of the man, whose love might have made the noblest of earthly women proud, and whose powers have conferred upon her immortality. It is painful to think that one who could listen at all, and apparently at times with more than tolerance to Sidney, should have felt so little the pathos of these lines, or have been struck so little by the responsibility they threw upon her:—

“For since mad *March* great promise made of me,
If now the *May* of my years must decline,
What can be hop'd my harvest-time will be?”

We learn from one sonnet (xxiii.) that his pensiveness attracted attention, and that all sorts of guesses were thrown out as to the cause; some, he says, and the remark gives us a glimpse of the popular appreciation of his character—some,

“Because the Prince my service tries,
Think that I think state-errors to redress.”

In another sonnet he remarks that his dark abstracted guise—his seeming

“most alone in greatest company,
With dearth of words, or answers quite awry,”

are attributed to the foul poison of pride. And in yet a third he runs over all the questions that are put to him relating to the great foreign political questions of the time, as—

“How Ulster likes of that same golden bit
Wherewith my father once made it half tame,” &c.;

but in all these cases he laughs at the speculations and the inquirers, and turns everything still to the service and glorification of his mistress. And did ever poet and lover more exquisitely express his reproaches for unkind treatment than in the following sonnet, the last that our space will permit us to quote entire?—

" With how sad steps, O Moon, thou climb'st the skies,
 How silently, and with how wan a face!
 What,—may it be, that even in heavenly place
 That busy archer his sharp arrows tries?
 Sure, if that long, with love-acquainted eyes,
 Can judge of Love, thou feel'st a lover's case,
 I read it in thy looks, thy languish'd grace,
 To me, that feel the like, thy state describes.
 Then even of fellowship, O Moon, tell me
Is constant love deem'd there but want of wit?
Are beauties there as proud as here they be?
Do they above love to be lov'd, and yet
Those lovers scorn, whom that love doth possess?
Do they call virtue there—ungratefulness? "

We need not seek further for a full comprehension of the relations of Sidney and the Lady Penelope Devereux. As usual in such cases—the ever-impending blow was struck at last—Sidney's mistress married another, a man for whom it should seem she had herself—subsequently—no respect. After the first shock, the connection appears to have been renewed, with no other result—we might almost say with no other object on the part of Stella, now Lady Rich,—than to feed the vanity of the one party, and the anguish of the other. Most painfully

to rest upon, thus explains why it is his complaints are not received as they should be by her to whom they are addressed —

“ I much do guess, yet find no truth, save this,—
That when the breath of my complaints doth touch
Those dainty doors unto the court of bliss,
The heavenly nature of the place is such
That once come there, the sobs of mine annoys
Are metamorphosed straight to tunes of joys.”

In these snatches from the poet's fuller song, many no doubt will see, like ourselves, that Shakspeare's were not the only “sugar'd sonnets” produced in the sixteenth century. Truly Sidney was now *doing* in genuine earnest.

And notwithstanding the nature and end of the influences that thus developed the poet's powers, being developed, the poet—as apart from the lover—went on his way rejoicingly. Not long, after all, did he allow this ill-assorted passion to bend him beneath its storms. In 1581 was written the ‘Defence of Poesy,’ the noblest work on one of the noblest of subjects that exists in any language. It is but the simple truth to state, that “nothing more can be said upon the cause which it advocates; and what is said is placed in such a point of view, and expressed in so happy a manner, as to leave nothing to desire.” (‘Penny Cyclopædia,’ article “Sidney.”) Many who are familiar with the name and reputation of this work may not perhaps be aware that its production was as well timed as it was effective. It seems truly extraordinary to state that the period which produced Spenser, Sidney, Shakspeare, and his brother dramatists, should be one in which the *general* estimation of the divine art was very low; but there is no resisting Sidney's direct statements to that effect. He says in one place, that it is “fallen to be the laughing-stock of children;” in another, he speaks of its being “thrown down to the ridiculous in estimation;” in a third, that the poets of England are “almost in as good reputation as the mountebanks at Venice.” Then, again, he refers to certain “poet-whippers,” with whom it falleth out,

many potent devices, with a siren
ing the mind to the serpent's tail of sin
above all, that Plato banished them out
wealth. It is too late in the day to no
pose of answering, such charges; but
degree owing to Sidney's labours that
some such necessity imposed upon us.

In the course of his work Sidney co
with men in all the other chief walks
intellectual manifestation, and even wi
Our only quotation must be from the
this last-named parallel: "Neither let
saucy a comparison, to balance the highe
wit with the efficacy of nature; but rather
to the *Heavenly Maker of that maker*, v
man to his own likeness, set him beyon
the works of that second Nature, which
showed so much as in poetry, when wit
divine breath he bringeth things forth
doings, with no small arguments to th
the first accursed fall of Adam, *since
maketh us know what perfection is, and
will keepeth us from reaching unto it.*"

result. No real happiness appears to have resulted from the union. As to Stella, after all her prudery with Sidney, she lived to excite the tongue of scandal by her unfortunate connection with the Earl of Devonshire. Public scenes and occupations now began to reopen upon the poet. On his former ambassadorial visit to Vienna, he had established a friendship with Prince Casimir; he was now chosen by the prince to act as his proxy, on his installation into the order of the Knights of the Garter. Elizabeth, glad no doubt to see him back again to court, knighted him, and thus plain Philip became Sir Philip Sidney. About the same time he entered into a political controversy with Parsons, the Jesuit, who had attacked his uncle, the Earl of Leicester. But it was not thus Sidney's chivalrous spirit desired to expend that portion of his life which he had determined to devote to the public service. He evidently pined for a field that would enable the already distinguished man of letters to achieve an equally high distinction as a man of action. At last, when Drake's second expedition was fitted out against the Spanish West Indies, in 1585, Sidney's impatience could no longer brook delay; so making his preparations with all possible secrecy, to prevent Elizabeth from stopping him, he succeeded in joining Drake at Plymouth, just before he was about to embark. But Elizabeth was too sharp for him. The truant was caught and effectually stayed at the last moment, by a royal mandate which threatened the queen's high displeasure if he proceeded, but promised him immediate employment, under his uncle the Earl of Leicester, if he returned to the court. Certainly this was the most complimentary act of despotism upon record; and accompanied, according to report, by equally complimentary words. It is said the queen was in a great fright lest she should "lose the jewel of her dominions." But what even was this to the offer of a crown—that of Poland—which Fuller says was made to him, and *declined*? The poet Lee also says, he was so "most extravagantly great, that he refused to be a king."

Elizabeth kept her word. Sidney was appointed

governor of Flushing in 1585. Spain and Holland were then at war ; England being in close alliance with the latter. The field for action was now daily widening upon his view at every step he took, when, to the sudden and universal grief of Europe, he was struck down before he had reached in years even the prime of manhood. Sidney had already obtained some considerable successes against the enemy ; but one day his forces accidentally encountered a body of three thousand men who were marching to relieve Zutphen, a town of Guelderland : and there, under the walls, the conflict ensued that was to invest the name of a previously obscure place with undying interest. Sidney had two horses successively shot under him, but was still pressing on with heroic resolution, when a musket-shot from one of the trenches wounded his left thigh a little above the knee and broke the bone. The injury was fatal, though for some days there was a hope of recovery : and as Sidney has said in the 'Arcadia,' " In extremities the winning of time is the purchase of life ;" would that it could have here proved so ! He died in the arms of Lady Sidney, and of his attached secretary William Temple, on the 7th of October, 1586. He had never desired to make a " perpetual mansion of this poor bait."



or other his heart expand with unwonted love for and devotion to his fellow-men, as he read the story of Sidney and the soldier on the bloody field of Zutphen. This story cannot be better told than in the words of him who desired that his own epitaph should state simply that he was the friend of Sidney. Lord Brooke, in describing the progress of the sad procession which bore Sidney to his tent, continues: "Passing along by the rear of the army, where his uncle (Leicester) the general was, and being thirsty with excess of bleeding, he called for some drink, which was presently brought him; but as he was putting the bottle to his mouth, he saw a poor soldier carried along, who had eaten his last at the same feast, ghastly casting up his eyes at the bottle, which Sir Philip perceiving took it from his head before he drank, and delivered it to the poor man with these words, 'Thy necessity is yet greater than mine.'"

Never, probably, before or since, did any death cause more universal lamentation. Every one felt that a glory had suddenly passed away from the earth; yet at the same time every one felt as though he had lost a personal friend: so honoured and so loved was Philip Sidney. A general mourning was observed, the first of the kind, it is believed, in this country. The body lay in state in St. Paul's for many days. A deputation from the United Provinces formed a portion of the mourners at the funeral.

Besides the works specially noticed in the foregoing pages, Sidney wrote a Masque (his first literary attempt), which was exhibited before Elizabeth, and he contributed occasional poems, &c. to various publications.

We have not hitherto dwelt, nor is it now our intention to dwell, on the opinions of Sidney's contemporaries on his poetry or character; they have been repeated so incessantly, that one is apt, before examination, to think that there must be something too much of all this praise—notwithstanding that the praisers include nearly all the most illustrious names in English letters. And if this danger be avoided, we are still liable to another, that of *substituting for the real man—the real poet—the real*

hero Sidney, such as he was—a kind of dreamy abstraction of him, formed simply of the opinions of his admirers. And certainly that is not the way to make our own admiration of any value. Referring, in conclusion, to the remarks we made in the commencement of this paper, we trust there will be found in these pages a sufficient answer to the question—What has Sir Philip Sidney *done* to deserve such pre-eminent fame?





"His Drake," says Camden, "(to relate no more than at I have heard from himself) was born of mean parentage in Devonshire, and had Francis Russell (afterwards Earl of Bedford) for his godfather, who, according to the custom, gave him his Christian name. Whilst he was yet a child his father, embracing the Protestant doctrine, was called in question by the law of the Six Articles made by Henry VIII. against the Protestants, fled the country, and withdrew himself into Kent."*

"Thus," says quaint old Fuller, "did God divide the river betwixt two counties, that the one might have his birth and the other his education." The date of his birth involved in great uncertainty, which has not been cleared up by his latest biographer, who quotes the inscriptions of two portraits, which disagree as to his

age.* The years 1539, 1541, and 1546, not to mention others, have been assigned by different writers; but the safest assertion to make is that he was born somewhere between those extreme periods, and probably about 1544. According to local tradition, Drake first saw the light in an humble cottage on the banks of the Tavy in Devonshire, and not far from South Tavistock. The cottage was demolished some forty years ago, till which time it remained unchanged; a stall for cattle belonging to the farm-house hard by now stands, or recently stood, upon the site.† Sir Francis Drake, the nephew of the great hero and the inheritor of his fortune and honours, in the dedication of the 'Voyage Revived,' gives some information of the family. He describes the poverty and persecution for conscience' sake of the hero's father, and says, that after his flight into Kent, the good man was constrained to inhabit in the hull of a ship, wherein all of his younger sons were born. He adds, that he had twelve sons in all, and that "as it pleased God to send most of them a being upon the water, so the greater number of them died at sea: but the youngest, though he was as far as any, yet died at home, whose posterity is that which he, by himself, and this noble gentleman, his eldest brother (the great Francis), was hardly, yet was



tect the anchorage. Yet, no doubt, there was a small chapel in that castle, and in this the father of the great Drake may have been chaplain. Or he may have been vicar of Hoo Church, which stands on the hill just behind Upnor, and which still serves as a parish church to that village. There may be a trifling slip as to a name, but there can be no doubt of Camden's correctness as to the fact that Drake's father held some church preferment in this immediate neighbourhood. He was no doubt a man of considerable acquirements, and one that took pains with the education of his sons. The great Drake, though sent so early to sea, was very far from being an illiterate man. In all times the coasting trade has been considered an admirable school for seamen. This was the training of Drake, as afterwards of Captain Cook. According to Fuller, his first master "held Drake hard to his business; and pains with patience in his youth knit the joints of his soul, and made them more solid and compacted." But, if a hard master in the beginning, the old skipper became very fond of his apprentice. "The youth," says Camden, "being painful and diligent, so pleased the old man by his industry, that, being a bachelor, he at his death bequeathed his bark unto him by will and testament." As master of this craft Drake continued his active and thriving way of life. He had gotten together some little money. At this time Captain Hawkins (afterwards Sir John) another Devonshire man, a bold sailor and a skilful navigator, was fitting out at Plymouth an expedition for the new world. Such expeditions presented irresistible attraction to adventurous seamen, and to many adventurers that were no seamen. There was no conceivable limit to the riches and beauty of the American continent; every man hoped to obtain a fortune by going thither and hitting upon some gold mine. Hawkins had made one or two voyages to the new world before. Drake, who appears to have been previously acquainted with him, resolved to accompany him in his present expedition; so selling his bark, and taking with him all the money and goods he had in the world, he hastened away to Plymouth and joined

Hawkins. Queen Elizabeth had lent one of her ships royal to the general (or admiral, as we should now say). The rest of the squadron, furnished by private speculators, consisted of four ships and two very small vessels. One of these ships, named the Judith, was intrusted to the command of Francis Drake, whose skill must have been known and prized by Hawkins, as he was but a young man at the time. The expedition sailed from Plymouth in October, 1567. Its main scope appears to have been to purchase negroes on the coast of Africa, to carry these unfortunate creatures to the West Indies, and there sell them to the Spanish planters. But Hawkins's good fortune forsook him in this his last great adventure. Everything went wrong. First there was a storm off Cape Finisterre, which lasted four days, and greatly damaged the general's ship. Then there was some hard fighting near Cape de Verd, where the negroes would not submit to be made slaves and carried off. Seven or eight men were wounded and died of lock-jaw. "I myself," says the devout Hawkins, "had one of the greatest wounds, yet, thanks be to God, escaped." Farther down the coast, at St. Jorge da Mina, where Hawkins joined a negro king who was making war on a neighbouring black potentate, he had six slain and forty



hundred of his men he stormed and took the town of Rio Hacha, with the loss of two men only. At the port San Juan d'Ulloa, in the bay of Mexico, they were not quite so fortunate. Hawkins had evidently been warned by a number of buccaneer ships who were practising in those waters without any commission, either from the Queen of England (who was not then at war with Spain) or from any other sovereign or state. He confesses himself that he was more than half inclined to attack a Spanish fleet which came into the bay with specie and bullion on board, to the value of nearly two millions sterling. After he had been for some time in port, he says the English were taken by surprise, and the Spaniards, most perfidiously falling upon them, killed a great number of their men, seized, plundered, and burned the crews of their ships, making the crews prisoners, and obliged the remainder in the smaller ships to retreat, without provisions or water, and in a most miserable plight. But, according to the relation which Hawkins himself gave to that excellent collector and compiler old De Witt, the English did not retreat until they had sunk, were supposed to have sunk, the Spanish admiral, killed the vice-admiral, and sent another of their chief ships to the bottom—as was believed. Hawkins, however, was obliged to abandon his own ship, the 'Jesus,' of Lubeck, which Queen Elizabeth had lent him; which was of seven hundred tons' burthen, and the only vessel serving to be called a ship in his squadron; and only the 'Minion' and the 'Judith,' Drake's bark of fifty tons, escaped safely out of this unlucky bay and most desperate fight. In this disastrous expedition Drake lost all the money he had in the world, and brought a stain upon his reputation which would have been fatal to him if he had lived in more modern times. For he shamefully disobeyed orders, and deserted Hawkins, his superior and friend, in the hour of need and danger. As we have Hawkins's own solemn and uncontradicted statement to that effect, and as Drake suffered imprisonment for his conduct, it seems rather strange that Mr. Barrow should suppress the fact and say, that "it is somewhat

remembrance that the name of Drake never once occurs in any of the accounts of this very uninteresting and unfortunate voyage." In the very chapter in which this passage occurs Mr. Barrow himself quotes more than one account of the voyage, in which the name of Drake and the name of his vessel are mentioned, and Hawkins's account must have come under his eye in Hakluyt's book, of which he has made so much use. Southey, who understood his business better than to attempt enhancing the fame of his hero by suppressing or slurring over the truth, has given the facts in a foot note.* Hawkins complained of Drake's "forsaking him in his great misery, and shifting for himself." Herrera, who wrote with the prejudice of a Spaniard against a man who became one of the most formidable enemies Spain ever knew, says that Drake, instead of obeying Hawkins's orders, and waiting for him when he was in his great peril, fled with all the prize-money that had been made, and reaching England reported that Hawkins was lost, and that he had distributed the money among his men, although in reality he (Drake) had kept it all himself. "This," adds Herrera, "was his beginning; and, though the queen kept him three months in prison, she pardoned him upon intercession, and so the matter rested."† This story about the



the assurance that, as he had been treacherously used by the Spaniards in the Gulf of Mexico, he might lawfully recover in value upon the King of Spain, and repair his losses upon him whenever and wherever he could. Fuller says, "The case was clear in sea-divinity; and few are such infidels as not to believe doctrines which make for their own profit. Whereupon Drake, though a poor private man, undertook to revenge himself on so mighty a monarch, who, not contented that the sun riseth and setteth in his dominions, may seem to desire to make all his own where he shineth." It entered largely into the policy of the virgin-queen to wink at this right of private war, or to encourage her subjects in their private attacks upon the navy and colonies of Spain. Fuller, though a divine, and writing not during her reign, but during the Commonwealth and under Charles II., could not discover anything much amiss in this system, for he looked upon the Spaniards only as Papists, and as such the natural enemies of all good Protestants. "Let us see," he exclaims, "let us now see how a dwarf, standing on the mount of God's providence, may prove an overmatch for a giant!" Being readily joined by a number of sea-adventurers, who mustered among them money enough to fit out a vessel, Drake made two or three voyages to the West Indies, to gain intelligence and learn the navigation of those parts; but Camden adds, that he also got some store of money there "by playing the seaman and the pirate."

In 1570 he obtained a regular commission from Queen Elizabeth, and cruised to still better purpose among the Spanish West India Islands. In 1572—apparently with the same roving commission from the queen, and with the determination of attacking the Spaniards wherever it could be done with hope of success and plunder, albeit there was still no declared war between England and Spain—he sailed again for the Spanish main with the 'Pasha' of Plymouth of 70 tons, and the 'Swan' of the same port, of 25 tons, of which his brother John Drake was captain. The united crews of these two small craft amounted, in men and boys, to seventy-three; "all volun-

tarily assembled, of which the eldest man was fifty, all the rest under thirty; and so divided that there were forty-seven in one ship, and twenty-six in the other, both richly furnished with victuals and apparel for a whole year, and no less heedfully provided of all manner of munition, artillery, stuff and tools, that were requisite for such a man-of-war, in such an attempt, but especially having three dainty pinnaces made in Plymouth, taken asunder all in pieces, and stowed aboard, to be set up as occasion served." * At Port Pheasant, an uninhabited place on the South American coast, Drake landed, built a fort or stockade by felling trees, and began to put his two pinnaces together. The day after his arrival he was joined by a bark from the Isle of Wight, belonging to Sir Edward Horsey, "wherein James Rouse was captain, and John Overy master, with thirty men, of which some had been with our captain (Drake) in the same place the year before. * Master Rouse brought in with him a Spanish carvello of Seville, which he had taken the day before, and a shallop with oars, which he had taken at Cape Blanche. "This Captain Rouse, understanding our captain's purpose, was desirous to join in consort with him, and was received on conditions agreed upon between them." † With this



After the fight, Drake frankly said—"That he wanted only some of that excellent commodity, gold and silver, which that country yielded, for himself and his company, and that he was resolved, by the help of God, to reap some of the golden harvest, which they (the Spaniards) had got out of the earth, and then sent into Spain to trouble the earth."* After this exploit he proceeded to Carthagena, and there took two Spanish ships, one of which was of two hundred and forty tons, having previously despatched his brother and one Ellis Gorton to examine the river Chagre, which traverses the neck of the isthmus of Darien, where he had been there before. After taking other prizes, and sinking the Spanish galleon in order to strengthen the crews in the pinnaces, Drake landed, and partially crossing the isthmus of Darien, obtained a view of the great Pacific, an ocean hitherto yet closed to English enterprise, and with his eyes longingly fixed upon its waters, he prayed God to grant him "life and leave once to sail an English ship those seas." He also implored the Divine assistance to be enabled to make a perfect discovery of the same. *Hereunto*, says Camden, "he bound himself with a vow; and from that time forward his mind was pricked continually night and day to perform his vow." Sir William Davenant, in a whimsical drama, produced and acted in the time of Charles II., commemorated these events.

Drake, jun. No English keel hath yet that ocean plowed.

Pedro. If prophecy from me may be allowed,
 Renown'd Drake, Heaven does decree
 That happy enterprise to thee,
 For thou of all the Britons art the first
 That boldly durst

Portuguese. According to this relation, Drake was repulsed at the town, and afterwards plundered a caravan of mules that were bringing gold and silver from Panama. It is very probable that Drake made two attacks on the town, the first that he suppressed mention of the first.

* Drake Revived.

This Western World invade ;
And as thou now art made
The first to whom that ocean will be shown,
So to thy Isle thou first shall make it known.*

The adventures which followed were extraordinary and very hazardous. John Drake was killed, being mortally wounded in the belly while attempting to board a Spanish frigate from the pinnaces, and another young man called Richard Allen was slain with him. Six of the company fell sick and died within two or three days, and thirty at a time were very sick of a calenture. "Among the rest, Joseph Drake, another of our captain's brothers, died in our captain's arms of the same disease."† At last Drake shaped his course for England, with his frail barks absolutely loaded and crammed with treasure and plundered merchandise ; and on the 9th of August, 1573, he anchored at Plymouth. It was a Sunday, and the townsfolk were at church ; but when the news spread thither that Drake was come, "there remained few or no people with the preacher ; all running out to witness the blessing of God upon the dangerous adventures and enterprises of the captain, who had spent one year, two months, and some odd days, in this voyage."‡ Or, in the words of one who couples loyalty with religion,

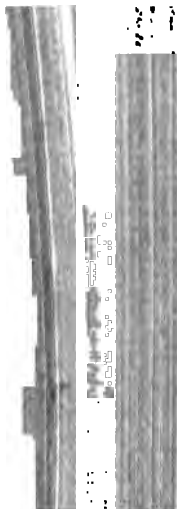


aken by the Spaniards and hanged (together with forty of his comrades) as a pirate at Lima, "being unable to produce any power or commission from the queen," he could scarcely be an object of envy to the "dragon Drake." *

In 1577, under the secret sanction of Elizabeth, Drake departed from Plymouth on another marauding expedition to the Spanish main. Owing to foul weather and other delays he did not fairly quit England until the very end of the year. This time his squadron consisted of five vessels, the largest of which, the 'Pelican' was of a hundred tons, the smallest, the 'Christopher' pinnace, of only fifteen tons. The united crews amounted to a hundred and sixty-four men, *gentlemen* and sailors. Among the *gentlemen* were some young men of noble families, who (not to mention the plunder anticipated) went out to learn the art of navigation. Our old dramatists were only dealing with facts when they represented the court gallants or men of pleasure and dissipation about town looking to a cruise on the Spanish main as a good and honourable means of recruiting their wasted finances.

After many adventures along the coasts of the South American continents, where some of his attacks and surprises were completely successful, Drake and his choice comrades came to Port Julian, on the coast of Patagonia, near the Straits of Magelhaens, where they were much comforted by finding a gibbet standing—a proof that Christian people had been there before them. Drake, during his stay in Port Julian, put to death "Master Doughtie," a gentleman of birth and education, and next in authority or in consideration to the general. This dark story is still involved in much mystery, notwithstanding the laudable endeavours of Southey to rescue the fame of one of our greatest naval heroes from the suspicion of a most foul murder. Mr. Barrow, Drake's latest biographer, has thrown no new light upon the subject. Camden relates the sad story thus:—In this very place John Doughtie, an industrious and stout man, and

* Hakluyt.



off as an emulator of his glory, and on so much who he himself excelled in sea matters, as who he thought might wanted there not some, who, pretending things better than others, gave out a charge from Leicester to take off the pretence whatsoever, because he had the Earl of Essex* was made away by tices of Leicester.

A story told by Drake's nephew as a plan entertained by Doughtie to murder the general or admiral has been in contempt it merits, for it injures the to prove too much, and it contains something altogether incredible. Mr. Francis F and pastor of the fleet at that time" (were a God-fearing race, and liked chaplain or two with them), has left a

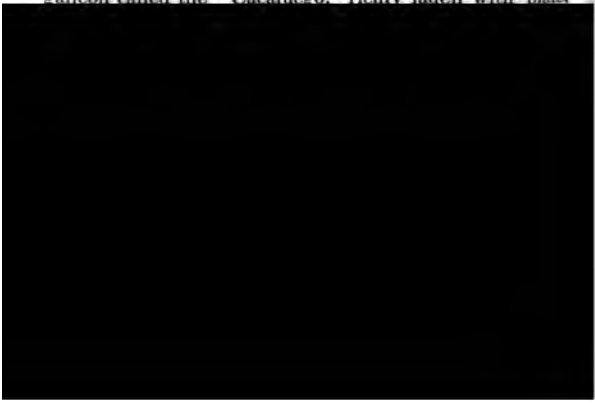
* This Earl of Essex was Walter Elizabeth's last favourite, Robert Devereux beheaded and attainted in 1600. Earl of subdue and colonize the turbulent Irish he went to Ireland in 1572 met

"this bloody tragedy," as he himself calls it. The chaplain speaks very cautiously ; but he does not appear to have believed in any great guilt in Doughtie. He says that the origin of the dislike against him was in the outward voyage, upon occasion of taking a Portuguese prize (the sort of subject upon which these adventurers were continually quarrelling), but that "now more dangerous matter and of greater weight is laid to his charge, and that by the same persons, namely, for words spoken by him to them, being in England, in the general's garden in Plymouth, long before our departure thence, which had been their parts and duties to have discovered them at that time, and not to have concealed them for a time and place not so fitting ; but how true it was wherewith they charged him upon their oaths, I know not ; but he utterly denied it, upon his salvation, at the hour of communicating the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, at the hour and moment of his death, affirming that he was innocent of such things whereof he was accused, judged, and suffered death for. Of whom I must needs testify the truth for the good things of God I found in him, in the time we were conversant, and especially in the time of his afflictions and trouble, till he yielded up the spirit to God ; I doubt not to immortality. He feared God, he loved his word, and was always desirous to edify others, and conform himself to the faith of Christ." Fletcher goes on to describe Doughtie as a very accomplished person. "For his qualities, in a man of his time, they were rare, and his gifts very excellent for his age : a sweet orator, a pregnant philosopher, a good gift for the Greek tongue, and a reasonable taste of Hebrew ; a sufficient secretary to a noble personage of great place, and in Zealand an approved soldier ; and not behind many in the study of the law for his time." * We leave the story in the same obscurity in which we found it.

On the 20th of August 1578, Drake reached Cape

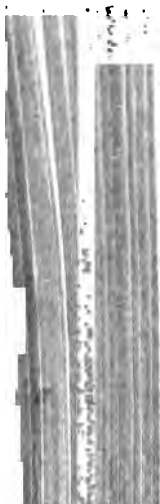
* *Certified copy of Fletcher's MS. in the Sloane MSS. in British Museum.*

Virgences, and began to sail through the Strait of Magelhaens, being the third navigator who performed that most difficult passage. On the 6th of September he cleared the Strait and entered the Pacific, which he found rough and turbulent above measure. A tempest, which for fifty days never ceased, drove our daring navigator far to the south and to the extremity of the land which has since been named "Cape Horn." Thus he was enabled to displace the old terra incognita from a considerable portion of the space which it had previously occupied in maps and charts. "We altered the name," says Fletcher the chaplain, "to *Terra nunc bene cognita* (or land now well known)." Drake went ashore, and leaning over the face of a jutting promontory, as far as he could, he came back and told his sailors that now he had been farther south than any man living. On the 30th of October the wind fell fair and moderate; and our adventurers sailed towards the north-west, running pleasantly along the shores of the South American continent, and keeping a good look-out for prizes, whether on sea or on land. Having obtained an immense booty by plundering the Spanish towns on the coasts of Chili and Peru, and by taking, among many other vessels, a royal galleon called the 'Cacafuego,' richly laden with plate,



His sea-card had now long ceased to be of any use ; yet he steered through unknown seas, through an intricate navigation among rocks and islands and without a pilot. Among the Celebes his ship struck upon the point of one of those coral reefs which so abound in those seas ; but at the ebb of tide she fell over on one side, slipped off from the ledge, and floated into deep water. From Java Drake sailed right across the Indian Ocean to the Cape of Good Hope, which he doubled without accident, or, in the words of an original narrator in Hakluyt—" We ran hard aboard the Cape, finding the report of the Portingals (Portuguese) most false, who affirmed that it is the most dangerous cape in the world, never without intolerable storms and present danger to travellers which come near the same." He put into Sierra Leone, and stayed there two days taking in water and procuring oysters and fruit. He arrived at Plymouth on the 26th of September 1580, after an absence of two years, ten months, and some odd days, during which he had circumnavigated the globe, and spent many months on the almost unknown south-western coasts of America. Of his five ships he had brought back with him only one ; but Captain John Winter, who had deserted him, had arrived with his vessel long before, causing it to be believed by the good people of Plymouth that Drake had perished at sea or in some heavy fight with the Spaniards. Of the adventurers who had quitted Plymouth with him, many besides Doughtie had found a grave on the solitary shore or in the deep sea ; but such as returned with him spoke favourably of the attention he had bestowed upon their health and comfort. On first getting within the tropical regions he had bled all the people with his own hand. Francis Fletcher the chaplain much applauds " the great experience of our general, who had often himself proved the force of the burning zone, and whose advice always prevailed much to the preserving of a moderate temper in our constitutions."

The Devonshire circumnavigator and hero was received with transports of joy by the people of Plymouth. The day of his arrival was spent in feasting and rejoicing.



fetches was miraculous strange, and of possible and incredible; but both predicted that many disliked it and reproved all this there were others that devised possible disgraces against Drake and his him the master-thief of the unknown theless, the people generally, with exception applauded his wonderful long adventure prize."

After letting a few months pass that be preserved, and that her people might declare their own feelings and opinion known to the world, the queen summoned navigator to London. Drake was not received at court, and Elizabeth now asserted her right of navigating the ocean in denied the exclusive right which she over the seas and lands of the new world time she herself aspired to

"The large command of waters and

And though the queen yielded so far double sum out of the treasure Drake

inner entered the ship which Captain Drake had so appily guided round about the world, and being there, bridge which her Majesty had passed over, brake, eing upon the same more than two hundred persons, and no man hurt by the fall; and there she did make 'aptain Drake Knight, in the same ship, for reward of is services. The arms given him were a ship on the 'orld.'"* For many a year Sir Francis Drake's ship at Deptford was an object of curiosity and admiration. It became the great resort of holiday people, the cabin eing converted into a sort of tavern well furnished with 'full cups and banquets.'"† When the rot had consumed her, some of the sound wood was converted into a chair, which was presented to the university of Oxford, with a short copy of verses written by Cowley. None of these ten lines are very good, nor can we much admire the point of the concluding four :—

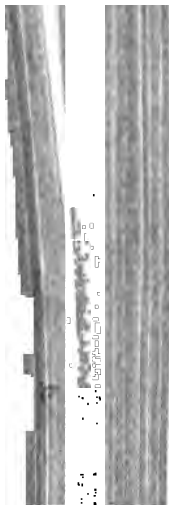
"Drake and his ship could not have wish'd from fate
An happier station or more blessed estate.
For lo! a seat of endless rest is given—
To her in Oxford, and to him in Heaven.

The circumnavigator had brought back with him, from St. Augustine's, in Florida, a Spaniard named Pedro Morales, and a Frenchman named Nicholas Bourguignon; and from these two individuals, who had been six years in the country, Hakluyt obtained in 1586 some information "touching the state of those parts." Their account was well calculated to send more adventurous Englishmen into Spanish America.

During part of the year 1585, and the whole of 1586, Sir Francis Drake was actively and profitably employed against Philip II. on the coasts of Spain and Portugal, in the Canaries, the Cape de Verdes, the West India islands, and on the coast of South America, where Carthagená and other towns were

* Stow.

† Eastward Hoe. This old play was the joint production of Ben Jonson, Chapman, and Marston; and, according to a well-known story, the cause of much trouble to all three.



toils that were endured and the losses
It was valued only at 60,000*l.*, on
pieces of brass and 40 pieces of iron
cost the lives of about 750 men, who
died of calenture. The poor soldier
20,000*l.* to divide among them. In
expedition Drake visited the Eng
ginia, which had been recently pla
Raleigh, and finding the colonists in
took them on board and brought the
It is said that tobacco was first broug
the men who returned from Virginia
name of the weed was obtained from
it was first found growing—Tobago.
were thus brought back," says Camd.
that I know of, that brought into E
plant which they call Tabacca and
which they used against crudities, bei
Indians. Certainly from that time f
grow into great request, and to be s
which, in a short time, many men ev
wantonness, some for health's sake, w

avy royal; the rest, with the exception of two belonging to the queen, being furnished by merchant-adventurers. Drake sailed from Plymouth on the 15th of April. On the 16th of that month he fell in with two ships of Middleburgh, which had come from the East, and by the captains of which he was informed there was great store of warlike provision at Cadiz, where the Spaniards were busily employed in shipping it for Lisbon, the grand depôt for the Armada. On the 17th of April, between night and morning, "the dragon," whose very name now spread terror, dashed into Bay. Besides galleys there were sixty ships, and many vessels of inferior size, all protected by land-batteries.

When over against Cadiz town he was smartly attacked by five galleys; but he soon drove them under the guns of the castle. A great Ragusan ship of 1000 tons, richly laden, and furnished with forty pieces of cannon, was presently sunk. "There came," says one of the sailors engaged, "two galleys more from St. Mary's and two from Port Real, which shot freely at us, but altogether in vain; for they went away with our shot, well beaten for their pains."* Drake burned, or took from thirty-five to forty ships, some of which were of the largest size, and it appears he might have done much more mischief but for the necessity he was under of securing as much booty, in goods, as he could, for the benefit of the merchant-adventurers, who lent their ships, and provided crews and equipments in the hope of some profitable return. These goods were divided by the English sailors from the captured ships, and the town was under a tremendous fire of land-batteries. The writer from whom we have already quoted says, "We had but little ease during our abode here, by reason of continual shooting from the galleys, the fortresses,

Narrative of expedition in Hakluyt. This worthy commander and preacher of the gospel much cultivated the acquaintance of seamen and adventurers, and obtained from many professional and most spirited accounts of the various expeditions in which they were engaged.

us from their terrible fate, which, as
pleasant sight for us to behold, because
by eased of a great labour, which lay
night, in discharging the victuals and
of the enemy. Thus, to the great as
King of Spain, this strange and happy
achieved in one day and two nights; w
corrosion in the heart of the Marquis of
admiral of Spain, that he never enjoyed
but within few months (as may justly b
of extreme grief and sorrow.
performed this notable service, we came
of Cadiz on Friday morning, the 21st o
of April, with very small loss not wo
ing."* They carried away four large
laden with provisions; and the stores
they otherwise obtained must have
"Thus," says our sailor, "being vict
and wine at the enemy's cost, for divers
neral despatched Captain Crosse into
letters After whose departure
course towards Cape Sacre, taking sund
ing fishing-boats and the profitable fish

lly landed and attacked the fortifications—"the to enjoy the benefit of the place, and to ride in at their pleasure." Drake, who was a humourist, his "singeing the King of Spain's beard." "And" continues our sailor, "we came before the haven on, anchoring near unto Cascaes, where the Mar-anta Cruz was with his galleys, who, seeing us his ships ashore, and take and carry away his barks ravel, was content to suffer us there quietly to and likewise to depart, and never charged us with mon-shot. And when our general sent him word was ready to exchange certain bullets with him, rquis refused his challenge, sending him word was not then ready for him, nor had any such sion from his king."*

there being nothing more to be done or gotten in arter, away we go for the Azores." Within twenty ty leagues of St. Michael they fell in with the ortuguese galleon or carrack, called the 'St. Philip.' carrack, without any great resistance, we took, be-; the people thereof in certain vessels well fur-with victuals, and sending them courteously home air country. And this was the first carrack that as taken coming from the East Indies; which rtugals took for an evil sign, because the ship bore g's own name! . . . And here by the way is oted that the taking of this carrack wrought two dinary effects in England: first, in teaching that carracks were no such bugs but that they be taken (as since, indeed, it hath fallen out in ing of the Madre de Dios, and firing and sinking ers); and secondly, in acquainting the English more generally with the particularities of the ex-; riches and wealth of the East Indies; whereby lves and their neighbours of Holland have been uged, being men as skilful in navigation, and of courage than the Portingals, to share with them East Indies, where their strength is nothing so

* Hakluyt.

great as heretofore hath been supposed.”* According to our hearty sailor, another conviction, derived from Drake’s experience of galley-fighting, was this—“That four English men-of-war would always be a match for twenty Spanish galleys.” Before the summer was over Drake returned triumphantly to Plymouth with a whole fleet and an amazingly rich booty. He generously spent a considerable part of his own prize-money in supplying the town of Plymouth with good fresh water, for hitherto there was none, except what the inhabitants fetched from a place a mile distant. The head of the spring, from which it was now to be brought, was between seven and eight miles distant in a direct line; but by indentings and circlings it was to be conveyed twenty-four miles, through valleys, wastes, and bogs, and through a mighty rock, thought to be impenetrable. But Drake gave his money freely, and animated the engineers and workmen with some of his own resolute and persevering spirit. The work was soon finished; and the first flowing of the blessed stream into the town of Plymouth (which it has ever since supplied) was celebrated with a procession and festival at which the hero was present. “Perhaps,” says Southey, “the day of that peaceful triumph was the happiest of Drake’s public life.” He also erected at his

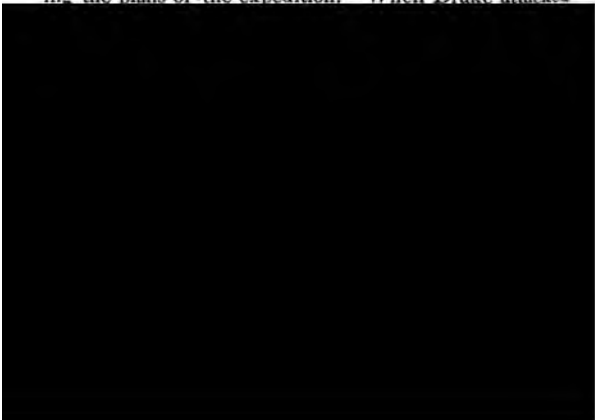


Spaniards, scattered and destroyed the "Invincible Armada." The admirable seamanship of Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, contributed largely to the happy result. On the last day of July, when the fighting in the channel was over, and the shattered Spaniards in full retreat, "Drake wrote to Secretary Walsingham—' There never was anything pleased me better than the seeing the enemy flying with a southerly wind to the northward. We have the Spaniards before us, and mind, with the grace of God, to wrestle another pull with them! With the grace of God, if we live, I doubt it not but ere it be long so to handle the matter with the Duke of Sidonia, as he shall wish himself at Saint Mary's port among his vine-trees.' " If Drake's advice had been taken, and if the English ships had been properly provided with ammunition, instead of being obliged to wait in order to receive it from shore, it is probable that neither the Duke of Sidonia nor any other officer of the Armada would have got back to Spain to relate the frightful discomfiture they had sustained.

In the following year (1589) Drake was employed as admiral in an expedition sent to Portugal, in the hope of expelling the Spaniards, who had taken possession of that kingdom, by establishing the claims of Antonio, a pretender, around whom the English expected the Portuguese would rally. The pretender Antonio also expected assistance from Muley Hamet, king or emperor of Morocco; and the Dutch furnished some ships and companies of soldiers. The whole expedition was badly planned, most miserably supplied with money and the other means of war, and but lamely executed after the landing of the troops. It was also disgraced by cruelties unusual even in that age, and inexcusable, notwithstanding the provocation which the English had so recently received on their own shores. Southey, with proper feeling, stigmatizes the barbarities committed. Mr. Barrow only praises the ability and bravery displayed by the English. The expedition had cost England the loss of six thousand men.

In 1595 Drake and Sir John Hawkins, "who had

good experience in these parts," represented to Elizabeth that the best place for striking a blow at the gigantic power of Spain was in the West Indies. An armament was therefore prepared, and Drake was associated in the command with old Hawkins, to whom more than a quarter of a century before he had given cause for such serious discontent. They sailed together with six of the queen's ships and twenty-one other ships and barks, on board of which was embarked a land force under the orders of Sir Thomas Baskerville and Sir Nicholas Clifford. According to Hakluyt the whole expedition numbered 2500 men and boys. There were too many in command, and the usual bad consequences ensued. Nothing is so bad in war as councils of war. After losing time and temper in debate they were obliged to give up an attempt on the Canaries with some loss. When they got among the West India Islands Drake and Hawkins not only quarrelled but separated for some time, and before reaching the east end of Puerto Rico old Hawkins died, his death being generally attributed to the agitation of his mind. One of Drake's smallest vessels was captured by the Spaniards, who, by putting the crew of it to the torture, extracted information respecting the plans of the expedition. When Drake attacked



by place, while Sir Thomas Baskerville, with a part of the land forces, made a vain and ruinous attempt to take the isthmus of Darien, in order to plunder and destroy the city of Panama and some other places on the Pacific. Baskerville's force consisted of 750 soldiers. They found that the Spaniards were on the alert, and that a fort had been erected for defending a narrow passage which they must go. They were also told that there were two more forts beyond this one. "They had much of this breakfast," says Fuller, "that they thought they should surfeit with a dinner and supper of fame."* Accordingly they returned towards Nombre de Dios sorely harassed and half starved. Baskerville lost in this expedition eighty or ninety men and officers. In the year 1680 the English Buccaneers under Coxon, Mordaunt, and Peter Harris (though scarcely more than a strong party), traversed the isthmus and plundered and took away all the shipping in Panama harbour; but they were assisted by 300 Mosquito Indians, and the secret of their coming was not known to the Spaniards. A fatal disease now broke out among soldiers and sailors in the fleet, and soon deprived them of the important services of their chief surgeon. When many of the men and three of his captains had died, the hardy surgeon himself fell sick, and after struggling some twenty days with his malady, and the grief occasioned by his losses, he expired at an early hour of the morning of the 30th of January, 1596. On the same day the fleet sailed from Puerto Bello, and, in sight of that place by the capture and plunder of which he had first established his great reputation, his body received a sailor's funeral.

"The waves became his winding-sheet,
The waters were his tomb;
But for his fame, the ocean sea
Was not sufficient room."

sang one of his admiring contemporaries.† Sir

* *Worthies.*

Prince, 'Worthies of Devon.' This quaint and amusing

Thomas Baskerville took the command of the fleet, and immediately led it back for England. Sixty Spanish ships were at sea to intercept him. He fell in with twenty sail of them off Cuba, but he fought his way gallantly through, causing the destruction of a great Spanish ship; and he arrived at Plymouth early in May 1596, though with very little booty.

According to Stow's dates Drake was fifty-five years old when he died; but the question of his age cannot be settled, as it is not known when he was born.

During a part of his life Sir Francis was an active member of the Lower House. He twice represented Bossiney or Tintagel, in Cornwall. In the parliament of 1592-3 he sat for Plymouth, and his name appeared upon most of the committees. He recommended energetic and extensive measures both by sea and land, and spoke for a grant of three subsidies to the queen to enable her to prosecute the war with Spain. Though his reputation as a skilful seaman and a bold commander was deservedly great, still, unless we judge him by the circumstances and the moral standard of his own times, he must appear, in many of his exploits, in no other light than that of a daring and fortunate buccaneer. "He was more skilful," says Stow, "in all points of navigation than any that ever was before his time, in his time, or since his death. He was also of a perfect memory, great observation, eloquent by nature, skilful in artillery, expert and apt to let blood, and give physic unto his people according to the climate. He was low of stature, of strong limbs, broad-breasted, round-headed, brown-haired, full bearded, his eyes round, large, and clear, well-favoured, fair, and of a cheerful countenance. His name

writer gives other laudatory verses. The following were written in lieu of an epitaph:—

"Where Drake first found there last he lost his name,
And for a tomb left nothing but his fame.
His body's buried under some great wave;
The sea, that was his glory, is his grave.
On whom an epitaph none can truly make,
For who can say, Here lies Sir Francis Drake?"

is a terror to the French, Spaniards, Portugals, and
 dians. Many princes of Italy, Germany, and others,
 well enemies as friends, in his lifetime desired his pic-
 e. He was the second* that ever went through the
 raits of Magelhaens, and the first that ever went round
 out the world. He was lawfully married unto two
 ves, both young, yet he himself and ten of his bre-
 en died without issue : he made his youngest brother,
 omas, his heir, who was with him in the most and
 efest of his employments. In brief, he was as famous
 Europe and America as Tamerlane in Asia and
 rica."† Honest Stow, however, admits that the great
 n had his faults. He enumerates among his imper-
 ations, that he was over-ambitious of honour, inconstant
 friendship, and too greatly affected to popularity.
 ller adds to Drake's high qualities, that he was a very
 igious man towards God and his houses, chaste in his
 e, just in his dealings, true to his word, merciful to
 se that were under him, hating nothing so much as
 eness, and seeing to all things himself, "never wont
 rely on other men's care, how trusty or skilful soever
 ey might seem to be, but always contemning danger,
 d refusing no trial."‡ According to some less favour-
 le accounts he was ostentatious, vain-glorious, and much
 ven to boasting. Perhaps the highest compliments to
 s skill and indomitable courage are to be found in the
 aracters drawn of him by his mortal enemies, who, in-
 ed, "honoured his memory in the bitterness of their
 mity towards him."§ At Panama two days' holidays
 ere kept to rejoice at his death as a foe and at his
 unation as a heretic. The most popular of the Spanish
 ets of the day composed an epic poem to revile him ;
 d the Spaniards long excused their own humiliating

* This is a mistake. Drake was the third, and not the
 cond navigator that went through that difficult strait. It
 as discovered by Fernando Magelhaens in 1520. In 1558-9
 an Ladrilleros went through the strait ; and Drake, ap-
 arently without any knowledge of his track, followed it
 venty years afterwards.

† *Chronicle.*

‡ *Holy State.*

§ *Southey.*

defeats by representing Drake as having been a magician, and in very close alliance with the devil.

But even in his native county of Devonshire Drake was long held to have been a magician, though one only practising in the *Magia Alba*, or white and innocent magic.

The abundant property which he left was much diminished by a prosecution instituted by the crown against his youngest brother, heir, and executor, Thomas Drake. It is said that this process rested solely upon "a pretended debt;" and this will be easily credited by those who best know the ungenerous, grasping spirit which prevailed at court, and among public men, during the last clouded years of Queen Elizabeth, and during the whole reign of James I. The estate which remained, however, placed Thomas's son Francis in such a station that he was created a baronet by James I., and returned as a member for his county.





of Lord Burghley, if it were to be written with
ness of which the subject admits, would be the
England, and in some measure of Europe, for
half of the sixteenth century. Even the
that exist in print would, if they were col-
ll many large volumes. They have enabled
s, Lord Burghley's biographer of the greatest
1, to extend his narrative to three ponderous

space to which we are limited we must confine
as far as possible, to the man himself, to the
and circumstances of his career that are most of
nature and that most mark and illustrate his

Of matter of this description there is also no
In particular, much that is very curious and
g has been supplied by a person of Lord Burgh-
blishment, "one who lived in the house with
g the last twenty-five years of his life," in a

sketch which he has himself entitled 'The Complete Statesman,' but which is commonly referred to as the *Diary of a Domestic*. It was first published by Peck in the first volume of his *Desiderata Curiosa*, 4to. Lond. 1732, and again 1779; and we shall use his edition as the most convenient. Burghley's own letters, many of which have been published in the Forbes, Haynes, Murdin, and other collections, will also supply us with some particulars for our purpose.

William Cecil, afterwards ennobled by the title of Lord Burghley, was the descendant of a family which appears to have been originally English or Norman, but which had been seated in Wales, and possessed of lands in the principality and the neighbouring counties of Hereford and Gloucester, ever since the reign of William Rufus. The name in the oldest form that is recorded was Sitsilt, whence it was worn down in the popular speech, and in the spelling which accommodated itself to that, into the successive shapes of Sicelt, Seycil, Cycyl, till at last the process of curtailment or alteration was arrested about the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII., and the pronunciation and orthography settled in the form Cecil. This deduction sufficiently demolishes the fancy of Verstegan, the antiquary, in his 'Restoration of Decayed Intelligence,' that the Cecils were a branch of the old Roman Cecillii, who had settled in Britain when this island was a colony of the empire. Lord Burghley's father was Richard Cecil, Esq., master, or rather first yeoman, of the robes to King Henry VIII.; his mother was Jane, daughter and heiress of William Hickington, of Bourne, in Lincolnshire, and it was through her that the manor of Burghley came into the family. William, their only son, was born at Bourne, or Burn, probably in the house of his maternal grandfather, after whom he appears to have been named, on the 13th of September, 1520, as the date is given in a *Diary* in his own handwriting (his *Domestic* says 1521). At this time Henry VIII. had sat only twelve years on the throne, Wolsey was in the height of his greatness, and the authority of the Roman pontiff was still entire a

nd, nor yet formally renounced in any part of n Christendom; the Diet of Worms, whose progs made the breach between Luther and the h irreparable, was held in 1521; and the same year Henry published his book against that reformer, procured him from the pope his title of Defender Faith.

il, therefore, was born and bred a Roman Catholic, religion of his father and mother, and of every body that day. The yeoman of the robes, we may here n, who retained his office through Henry's reign, is continued in it under Edward VI., died in 1552; low survived till the year 1587, when she died at e of fourscore and seven, after having seen her son to the highest honours of the state—an instance dded to those three memorable ones of Mrs. Scott, Copley, and Mrs. Brougham, in our own day. s this only son, she bore her husband three ers: Margaret, who married first Roger Cave, of rd, Esq., and after his death Ambrose Smith, of rth, Esq.; Elizabeth, married first to Robert eld, of Upton, Esq., secondly to Hugh Allington, and Anne, who became the wife of Thomas , of Tucksford, Esq.

l, after having been put to school first at Grant- ad afterwards at Stamford, was in 1535 sent to idge, and entered of St. John's College. At the ity, we are told by his Domestic, his diligence great that he hired the bell-ringer to call him up o'clock every morning; till at last, with early und late watching and continual sitting, he brought of humours into his legs, which was with difficulty and was supposed to be one of the original causes gout that used to attack him in after years. At usually early age of seventeen he read what was the Sophistry lecture, and before he was twenty eek lecture, although that language was not yet ly studied at Cambridge. And "his diligent 'adds this admiring chronicler, "was also such, les his exquisite knowledge in the Greek, he was

temper of speech. So that he was the scholar in Cambridge as he was afterwards for a grave and great counsellor."

Having remained at the university till the degree of Master of Arts, in May 1541 he removed to Gray's Inn, and removed to the Inn told by the Domestic in this part of his characteristic both of the man and of the Inn "he profited," says his historian of Cambridge; but, as his years and character he would many times be merry among who were most desirous of his company, mirth and merry temper. Among the tell this merriment of himself. That of his, whilst he was thus at Gray's Inn play; whereupon in a short time he had bedding, and books to his companion, play before. And, being afterwards company, he told them how such a one saying he would presently have a devil him. And he was as good as his word trunk [or tube] he made a hole in the

laimed with this merry device, and never played

"The boy is father of the man," and this stratagem of the hole in the wall of his fellow student's room in Gray's Inn may be compared with sundry ingenious and successful devices employed by the statesman of after years, or imputed to him, for the tables upon his opponents; it may in part remind some readers of the letters of Mary Stuart to her mother, which are said to have been found in a hole in the castle of Chartley, in the year 1586, and out of which was extracted the principal evidence by means of which she was got rid of, and the kingdom released from instant fear and disquiet, the year following. And the difference between that simple-minded time and our own may be felt if we will ask ourselves what chance a student of Gray's Inn would now have of getting back the money he had lost by a play from a student of Gray's Inn by the plan which Lord Burghley took.

A remarkable circumstance in the history of a person who was all his life so prudent and considerate, and so apt to act from impulse or with any kind of passion or impatience, and who, besides, from the above mentioned facts, appears to have been as yet so much of a boy in respects, and so imperfectly able to take care of himself, that he should have been in such a hurry to take

According to his own Diary, he came up to Gray's Inn on the 6th of May, being then twenty-one years of age; and on the 8th of August thereafter, he was at Cambridge to Mary, the sister of Mr. (afterwards Sir John) Cheke. It is like the similar solitary retirement in the late Lord Eldon's life to his habitual calmness and deliberation. It is not recorded, however, that Lord Burghley's was a love match, and the son was perhaps thought to be one likely to prove successful in the world. The lady, however, who bore him a son on the 6th of May, 1542, died on the 1st of February in the year following.

Whether it had really been intended by his father that his young man should follow the profession of the law, does not appear; but, at any rate, before he had

been called to the bar, one of those accidents which he always knew so well how to turn to account, opened to him a surer way to fortune and eminence. One day, towards the close of the reign of Henry VIII., he had come to the court to see his father, when he chanced, as he stood in the presence-chamber, to fall into talk with two priests, chaplains to the Irish chieftain O'Neil, who was then at court. Cecil had by this time adopted the new views of religion, at least to the extent to which they were countenanced by the royal authority, and he and the priests soon got upon one or more of the points on which their notions were altogether opposed to his. The dispute was carried on in the Latin language, and was conducted on Cecil's part with so much both of learning and wit, that he soon, in the words of the Domestic, "proved the poor priests to have neither, who were so put down that they had not a word to say, but flung away in a chafe, no less discontented than ashamed to be foiled in such a place by so young a beardless youth." A report of their discomfiture was presently carried to the king, who thereupon commanded young Cecil to be brought to him. The result of the interview was that Henry desired the chief yeoman of the robes to think of a suit for his son; upon which he asked for the



to receive the numerous suits which were addressed to the duke. And this same year, 1547, according to his Domestic, "he went with the duke to Musselburgh where he was like to have been slain, but was miraculously saved by one that, putting forth his arm to stop Mr. Cecil out of the level of the cannon, had his arm stricken off." It is rather strange, however, that his Domestic should make no mention of this escape in his own account, in which, indeed, he does not even state that he was present at the battle of Musselburgh, or Pinkie : the battle was fought on the 10th of September, and all that he says is, that he was in Scotland in the summer of that year. Yet other notices speak of him as having accompanied the army, and having been joined in the ranks by judge-marshal with William Patten, who published the next year an account of the expedition, for which Walpole, in his 'Royal and Noble Authors,' says he furnished materials. "It is on this account, I suppose," adds Walpole, "that his lordship is reckoned and mingled among the English historians."

In September of the next year, 1548, we find him in his Diary that he was appointed to the office of secretary ; and it has been supposed by some that he at this time made secretary of state. But it seems more probable that his office was that of private secretary to the Protector. When Somerset was for the first time sent to the Tower, in October, 1549, Cecil was taken into custody ; he has himself noted that he was in the Tower in the month of November of this year ; and his Domestic says that he remained there three months. He was probably let out when Somerset himself was set at liberty in the beginning of February, 1550. The late Protector gradually regained some measure of his former influence ; and the Domestic affirms it was he who, "perceiving the king's great liking for Mr. Cecil," now preferred him to be secretary of state. He probably used his interest to get him the office—to which he was appointed on the 6th of September—on the resignation of Mr. Wotton. At this time it appears to have been two principal secretaries of

that in May, 1551, he was ill of a fever and in danger of his life.

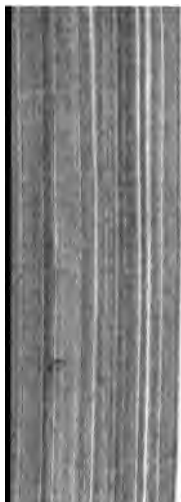
His ability and assiduity were now of more consequence every day. When he was wanted he was the man to do it. Mary (afterwards queen) was waited upon in Essex, in August, 1551, by a deputy council, who brought her what professed to be from her brother, requiring her to increase church-service in her family, she received Burnet tells us, from the hands of the king on her knees, saying, however, that she gave it to the king's hand, and not to the man, which she knew proceeded from the council. When she had read it, she said, "Ah! Mr. Cecil's pains here." Cecil's Protestantism, so complete, as well as unrestrained in its execution, have helped much to establish him in the confidence of Edward.

From his original patron, Somerset, his fortunes and dubious position, he appeared much aloof. Under date of 14th Oct.

ruck off upon Tower Hill, between eight and nine in the morning." On the 11th of October, 1551, yrs before he had had the interview above-men- with Somerset, most probably the last time they et in private, Cecil had been knighted along with , at the same time that the Earl of Warwick, et's successful rival, and now the all-powerful f the government, was raised to the dignity of of Northumberland, and others of his creatures rious titular honours conferred upon them. The tic writes: "During all their power in that reign) Dukes of Northumberland and Somerset strived) win the secretary sure to him, both using him ing kindly and tempting him with great offers and

He showed duty to both, but would take gifts of ; and so, though with difficulty, he carried him- en to both all King Edward's time." On the 12th il, 1553, he was made chancellor of the order of rter. At this time he must have been living in rable state, if we may judge from an entry in his recording a payment to an embroiderer for no than thirty-six scutcheons for his servants' coats. ost him two shillings a-piece. "It was the cus- en, it seems," Peck remarks, "for all servants and rs of any great man to wear badges, generally nting his crest or device, which badges were at some on satin, some on velvet, and some on f silver and gold itself, according to the rank of vants, or the quality of any other retainers, who o wear them."

ough, however, he kept on terms with Northum- l so long as it seemed safe to go along with him, was too cautious a man to engage with any zeal, or e himself farther than he could not help doing, last all-or-nothing scheme of that daring political r. In the perilous time of the king's last sick- n the early part of the month of June, 1553, when umberland was extorting from the dying boy the t of the crown to his son's wife, the Lady Jane *Cecil fell opportunely sick, and left the task of*



the rest of the council another paper
royal signature, in which they all decl
many times heard the king's earnest
commandment touching the limitation
and "having seen his majesty's own d
said succession, first wholly written v
cious hand, and after copied out in his r
by his most high commandment, and c
subscription of his majesty's own hand
ness delivered to certain judges, and o
to be written in full order," they, by l
cial and absolute commandment, pr
oaths and honours, fully to observe, c
"all and every article, clause, branch,
tained in the said writing delivered t
others, and superscribed with his majo
several places; and all such other matt
by his last will, shall approve, decl
touching or concerning the limitation o
Further, they promised, again by hi
mandment, never to vary or swerve c
from the said limitation; but the san

and the next day we find Cecil congratulating himself in his Diary with much apparent cordiality on escape from office: "Libertatem adeptus sum, morte et, ex misero aulico, factus sum liber, et mei (I have obtained my liberty by the death of the and, from a miserable functionary of the court, come a freeman, and my own master). As is usual, however, he continued to perform the duties of his place till there should be a new appointment; his name was attached with those of the other members of the council (twenty-one in all) to the answer which was sent to Mary on the 9th informing her that Queen Jane was now their sovereign, according to the ancient laws of the land and the late king's letters patent, and urging her to abandon her pretensions and not to discontinue the government. But he excused himself from signing up the order for proclaiming Queen Jane, on the plea that that duty belonged to the law officers; and, as Northumberland, who kept them all in a sort of imprisonment in the Tower, was got rid of by being ordered to go and place himself at the head of the army force by which Mary was to be met, he seized the opportunity of withdrawing. He does not appear to have been present at the meeting of the majority of the leagues at Baynard's Castle on the 19th, when it was resolved to proclaim Queen Mary; nor did he undertake his course; but, the Earl of Arundel and Paget having gone off to Mary that night, he followed them the next day. He was, we are told, very graciously received, notwithstanding all that had passed.

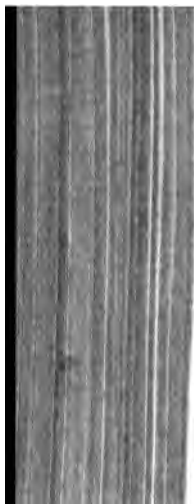
Domestic says, "When Queen Mary came in, she granted Sir William Cecil a general pardon. And, consulting her counsellors, she had also so good liking to him, as, if he would change his religion, he should be secretary and counsellor. And, to that purpose, wise men were underhand set to allure him and alter his disposition. But, like himself, he wisely and Christianly answered, he was taught and bound to serve God first, and next the queen; and, if her service should put him out of God's service, he hoped her

majesty would give him leave to choose an everlasting rather than a momentary service. And, as for the queen, she had been his so gracious lady, as he would ever serve, and pray for her in his heart, and with his body and goods be as ready to serve in her defence as any of her most loyal subjects, so she would please to grant him leave to use his conscience to himself, and serve her at large as a private man, rather than to be her greatest counsellor. Here was no turn-coat, nor seller of his soul, nor renouncer of his faith, for ambition of a counsellor's place, as many would do upon so fair an offer. But, where the foundation is surely laid, the house is hardly [with difficulty] shaken. And, God laying the first stone, the building must needs prosper. As was verified in him; to whom God gave the fruits of his faith, and the reward of a good steward." Cecil probably had no desire for office at this particular time; and he might consider himself very well off with his general pardon for the present; but the fact is that, like many other persons who had been very good Protestants during all the preceding reign (Elizabeth herself among the number), he did now conform to the re-established Roman faith. Dr. Nares has printed a record, in the hand-writing of William Haddon his steward, preserved



(Gardiner), the Earl of Arundel, and Lord Paget, all devoted Roman Catholics, to endeavour to negotiate a peace with the emperor and the French king. They sailed for Calais on the 18th of May; on the 3rd of June they proceeded thence to a village called Mark, between Gravelines and Ardres, where the conferences were held, which, notwithstanding Pole's best exertions, ended in nothing, and they got back to England on the 26th of June.

After his return home from this mission, Cecil was elected one of the knights of the shire for the county of Lincoln, and he took his place in the House of Commons which met on the 21st of October. He says himself that he was returned to parliament against his will, and that the post was one of some danger; nevertheless, he adds, he spoke his mind freely, although he thereby incurred some displeasure; but it was better to obey God than man. Burnet's account is, that the temper of parliament was now much changed from what it had been in the beginning of the reign; "men's minds were much alienated from the clergy, and also from the queen, who minded nothing else but to raise them to great wealth and power again;" and great heats were occasioned, first by a subsidy moved for in the Commons on the 28th of October, and afterwards by a bill brought in on the 23rd of November for suppressing the first-fruits and tenths, and giving back all impropriations that were yet in the queen's gift to the church, which was particularly committed for examination to Cecil and others, and was only carried in the end by a majority of 193 against 126. The truth is, that universal alarm had been excited by a design understood to be entertained by the court of recovering for the church all the property of every description that had been taken from it in the last two reigns, into whatever hands it might have passed. "Certain it is," says Heylin, "that many who were cordially affected to the queen's religion were very much startled at the noise of this restitution, insomuch that some of them are said to have clapped their hands upon their swords, affirming, *not without some oaths*, that they would never part with



court, Sir Anthony Kingston, Sir W
Sir John Pollard, and others, mostly
who were of the same way of think
when the House rose, and said they
him that day. "He answered, the
come, so they did not speak of any mat
which they promised. Yet some be
mise, for which he challenged them.
speech was known to the council; a
and gentlemen were sent for and con
liam Cecil was also sent for to my L
William Petre. When he was broug
desired they would not do by him as by
thought somewhat hard,—that was to
and to hear them after; but prayed
him, and then to commit him if he w
speak like a man of experience,' quot
And upon their hearing the circumst
himself, and so at once escaped both
disgrace." Burnet only mentions th
sent to the Tower the day after the p
solved; he "had been," he says, "
it and had one day taken the keys of

er of other persons to rob the exchequer. Eight of the others were tried and executed ; he died on his way to London. Burnet does not affirm that they were unjustly condemned ; all he says is, " What evidence was brought against them I do not know." There is no doubt about the reality of the conspiracy, most of the persons engaged in which made their escape to France. Their object was to get up an insurrection with the money ; and the evidence went a great way to implicate Elizabeth herself. Among the persons executed were two of her officers, who, it was said, had made use of her name without her authority.

Very little is known of what Cecil was about in the two or three last years of the reign of Mary. In Baynes's Collection are a few short letters addressed to him in 1556 and 1557 by his father-in-law Sir Anthony Cooke, the Earl of Bedford, and others ; but scarcely anything is to be got out of them. One from Sir Thomas Cornwallis, dated Calais, 5th March, 1556, is addressed to him at Cannon Row in Westminster, and speaks of his attending in Westminster Hall, and taking part in a certain cause heard in one of the courts there—but the meaning probably is that he only gave his evidence as a witness. He was returned again for Lincolnshire to the next parliament, the last of Mary's reign, which met on the 20th of January, 1558. The second session, which commenced on the 5th of November, was abruptly terminated by the death of the queen on the 17th.

There is no doubt that for some time before this event Cecil had been Elizabeth's chief adviser. His Domestic would make it appear that he was in her confidence and service from the beginning of the reign of Mary, and that the latter overlooked that circumstance, though well aware of it ; but this account is far from probable. There is no reason for supposing that he began to turn from Mary to her sister before the latter part of the year 1555 at the earliest, when the temper both of the parliament and of the nation had undergone an ominous change, and it had besides become

clear that there was no chance of any issue of the reigning queen cutting out Elizabeth from the succession.

Elizabeth made him her prime minister at once. He was, his Domestic tells us, "first sworn of any counsellor she had, at Hatfield, where she lay at her first coming to the crown." He was re-appointed to his former office of principal secretary of state; and the other members of the council, or, as we should now say, of the cabinet, or the administration, are understood to have been selected by his advice. They consisted of thirteen of the ministers of the late queen, of course all Roman Catholics, and of seven other new men and Protestants, in addition to Cecil himself.

From this time to the end of his life the biography of this celebrated minister becomes identical with the history of his country. Elizabeth and he were nearly of accord upon the grand political questions of the time; with many points of difference, there were some leading respects in which they resembled each other in temper and character; and, while they had both passed through the same previous condition of things, and much in the same manner, he was just so much the older of the two as it became the man to be than the woman, and the counsellor than the queen. In particular they were very nearly of one mind and disposition in reference to what was then the question of questions even in regard to this world, the question of religion. Cecil was perhaps rather the better Protestant, but he was far from being extreme in his views any more than her majesty, and, especially at first, he would probably have been very well satisfied to set up a mixture of the two religions if the Romish party would have accepted such a compromise. As things were arranged, he took care that the new church should not depart farther from the old model than the case absolutely required. He gave no countenance to the principle that deviation should be sought after for its own sake. Whatever was merely disorganizing in the spirit of the Reformation he firmly set his face against. The system which he laboured

all his life to maintain was one including only so much of Protestantism as could be adopted with safety to all the old foundations of the English social and political system. For instance, there was nothing more of democracy or republicanism in his Protestant church of England than there had been in the Romish church that preceded it. Both were equally monarchical and aristocratic both in their spirit and in their form. At any rate, such as it is, the existing church establishment is mainly his work. And so was the system generally both of domestic and foreign policy upon which the country acted throughout the reign of Elizabeth, and by which it has to a considerable extent been governed ever since. The principle of the system at least has continued to operate, whatever changes may have been brought about in the mode of its operation. That principle may be defined to be the championship of the cause of regulated freedom and temperate reform throughout Europe. In the reign of Elizabeth reform and resistance, progress and stagnation, going forward and going back, liberty and absolutism, were represented almost universally by Protestantism and Romanism: with her and her minister, accordingly, the support of Protestantism at home and abroad was everywhere the first object. It was this that directed the aid she gave to the Huguenots in France and the insurgents in Holland, the part she took in the affairs of Scotland, the course she followed in the government of Ireland. The very tenure by which she occupied the throne, indeed, was the support of Protestantism. Let her have given up that, and Mary Stuart would have been Queen of England.

One of the first matters to which Cecil directed his attention after the settlement of religion, was the reformation of the coin. The amount of what was done, however, in restoring the ancient standard, has been exaggerated in the common accounts; at least expressions are used which would convey the notion that the *reform was much greater than it really was*. The fact is, that, after the quantity of alloy in the silver coinage

had been carried to the monstrous extent of nine ounces in the pound troy (or three-fourths of the whole compound), it had been reduced by Edward VI. in 1552 to nineteen pennyweights, or to within one pennyweight of the ancient legal quantity; and Queen Mary had only added one pennyweight more. All that was now done was to reduce the twenty pennyweights of alloy to eighteen. The debased money of preceding reigns, however, was called in; and this may be considered as having been the most important as well as the most formidable part of Cecil's undertaking. The nominal value of the old coin received at the mint was between six and seven hundred thousand pounds, its real value being only between two and three hundred thousand. Cecil was quite alive to the connection between national prosperity and a right condition of everything relating to money and commerce. One of his maxims, we are told by his Domestic, was, that that realm cannot be rich whose coin is poor or base. But the evil really lies not so much in the absolute quantity of alloy in the coin (which, even if carried too far, would be a mere inconvenience), as in what is properly called its debasement, namely, the increase of the alloy without any corresponding diminution of the legal value. Another principle of Cecil's, it seems, was, that a realm must needs be poor that does not export more than it imports. So that he held what has been called the Mercantile, or Balance of Trade theory, now generally abandoned, though whether he carried it out to its logical conclusion of regarding gold and silver, or money, as the only true riches, does not appear. This view, however, leading him, as it would, to the promotion of domestic industry and manufactures, was not at that time calculated to do much harm. It becomes practically pernicious chiefly when it produces or is employed to defend exclusions and restrictions in favour of home manufactures either sufficiently established or not worth establishing.

In June, 1560, Cecil again visited Scotland, this time in a character no doubt more to his taste than that which he had borne on his last visit thirteen years before. He

was sent down at the head of a commission to conclude a peace with the French and Scots; and the result was the Treaty of Leith, by which that town was surrendered to the Lords of the Congregation, or leaders of the Protestant party, and all the French forces were withdrawn from Scotland. This was a great triumph both for the Scottish Protestants and for the English interest; and to Cecil, who both upon principle and from disposition was emphatically a peace minister, the arrangement he had succeeded in effecting must have been peculiarly gratifying.

In the beginning of the following year, 1561, he received from his royal mistress the valuable place of master of the wards, on the death of Sir Thomas Parry. The high favour in which he stood, we are told, however, exposed him to a great deal not only of envy but of danger; plots were laid to bring about his disgrace, and attempts were even made to take his life. His unceasing toils also "caused all his friends," says his domestic historian, "to pity him, and his very servants to admire him. And myself, as an eye-witness, can testify that I never saw him half an hour idle in four and twenty years together. For, if there were cause of business, he was occupied till that was done, which commonly was not long in hand. If he had no business, which was very seldom, he was reading or collecting. If he rid abroad he heard suitors; when he came in he despatched them. When he went to bed and slept not, he was either meditating or reading. And I have heard him say, he did penetrate further into the depths of causes, and found out more resolutions of dubious points, in his bed, than when he was up. Indeed, he left himself scarce time for sleep or meals, or leisure to go to bed." This writer also celebrates the ability which he showed as a speaker, both in parliament and in the star-chamber, where the lords of the council were then accustomed to sit and administer justice. In the House of Commons, it appears, his practice was generally to speak last, and wind up the debate, when, we are told, he seemed to all *who heard him* far to exceed in gravity, wisdom, and

eloquence all who had previously spoken, perfectly concluding all things, and clearing up whatever they had left dark or doubtful. "And yet," it is added, "which was observed as a strange thing in him, for all his long and public speeches, he was never seen to study a quarter of an hour, or to take notes, or turn books for any of his speeches. His long experience and practice made him need no helps. And it was noted, that, wheresoever he sate in the place of justice, there wanted not numbers that came only to hear him speak." Other accounts also attest the great excellence of his speaking; it was not, of course, either vehement and impassioned, or brilliant with wit and fancy; but in that sort of eloquence which addresses itself to the head rather than to the imagination or the heart—which consists in clear exposition and weighty and convincing enforcement—Cecil and Sir Nicholas Bacon (the father of the chancellor) are said to have excelled all the other orators of their time.

In February, 1571, Cecil was raised to the peerage by the title of Baron of Burghley; in June, 1572, he was made a knight of the Garter; and in September of the same year, upon the death of the Marquess of Winchester, he was promoted to the office of lord high treasurer. This change of position, however, probably, did not make him more first or leading minister than he had been from the first. Throughout all the time he continued in office every department of the public service was more or less immediately under his superintendence; he was not more occupied with the public revenue, for instance, than he was with foreign affairs. This sufficiently appears from his correspondence, large portions of which have been published.

There is a series of Burghley's letters (when he was Sir William Cecil and Secretary of State) published in the collection called *The Cabala*, which illustrates both the multifarious nature of his duties, and the character of the man, perhaps, as strongly as any others that have been printed. They are addressed to Sir Henry Norris, the Queen's ambassador in France, and

extend from February, 1567, to September, 1570. In one of the earliest, dated Westminster, 20th February, 1567, occurs the following curious paragraph:—"The queen's majesty would fain have a tailor that hath skill to make her apparel, both after the French and Italian manner; and she thinketh that you might use some means to obtain some one such there [in France] as serveth that [the French] queen, without mentioning any manner of request in the queen's majesty's name. First, to cause my lady your wife to use some such means to get one, as thereof knowledge might not come to the queen mother's ears, of whom the queen's majesty thinketh thus, that, if she did understand that it were a matter wherein her majesty might be pleased, she would offer to send one to the queen's majesty. Nevertheless, if it cannot be so obtained by this indirect means, then her majesty would have you devise some other good means to obtain one that were kilful." It may be presumed that a prime minister in the present day is no longer burthened with matters of state of this description. One or two other passages exhibit a prominent part of this minister's character—his careful economy. On the 19th of August, 1567, he writes from the manor of Guilford:—"I most heartily pray you to bear with my advice, that in your expenses you have consideration not to expend so much as by your bills brought to me by your servant Cartwright it seemeth you do; for truly I have no warrant to allow such several fees as be therein contained, neither did I know any of the like allowed to any of your predecessors. And, in the paying for your intelligences, if you be not well ware, you shall for the most part have counterfeited ware for good money. In matters of importance, or when you are precisely commanded to prosecute matters of weight, it is reason your extraordinary charges be borne; but, as to the common advices of occurrents abroad, they are to be commonly paid for small value, and many times as news for news; for at this day the common advices from Venice, Rome, Spain, Constantinople, Vienna, Geneva, Naples,

yea, and from Paris, are made so current, as every merchant hath them with their letters from their factors." This last sentence is interesting in reference to the history of newspapers, or, at least, the manner in which intelligence was formerly published and circulated. Lord Burghley used to have the credit of having been himself the inventor of the modern newspaper, at least in England. It was pretended that in the year of the Spanish Armada, 1588, he had caused a species of Gazette to be printed and dispersed from time to time, containing accounts of the movements of the enemy, and other matters of general interest; and copies of several numbers of this publication were believed to be preserved in the British Museum. A few years ago, however, the sagacity of one of the officers of that establishment made the discovery that these 'English Mercuries,' as they are entitled, are forgeries of the last century; and so much, therefore, of Lord Burghley's fame is at an end. He goes on in his letter to Norris:—"If I did not know your good nature, I would not thus plainly write; and yet, if I should not hereof warn you, your expences might increase, and I know not how to procure your payment. And yet hereby [herein?] I mean to do my best at all times to help you to allowance for all necessary expenses." There is the same reasonable and considerate tone in a subsequent letter, in which he replies to a remonstrance which it appears Sir Henry had made. Writing from Windsor on the 2nd of October, he says:—"And where it seemeth you think some hardness, in not allowance of your expences expressed in sundry your bills, surely it is not lack of my good will that stayeth me, but power; for truly I never subscribed so many extraordinary bills for any as I have done for you; and, as I understand by your servant Cartwright, I have subscribed more in some of them than will be as yet paid. Generally, I will subscribe all charges reasonable for carriage of letters; but concerning entertainment of men to continue at the court, or for rewards given extraordinarily, I never did nor could allow them; and yet I wish them

paid, being laid out in the service of her majesty. And in this manner I heartily pray you to interpret my good will to the best; for surely, if you were either my brother or son, I have no more power to shew you and yours good will than I do."* Elizabeth was herself, in fact, still more economically inclined than her minister, nor would she have borne with his permission of any unnecessary charges. No other virtue could have recommended Burghley so effectually to her regard as this his care of the public money.

The most interesting part of the history written by his Domestic is that in which an account is given of his personal habits and private life. He kept two principal establishments, we are told, one at London, the other at Theobald's; though he also was at some charge both at Burghley and at the court, and thus might be said to maintain four houses in all. At his house in London his household usually consisted of four-score persons, besides himself and those who attended him at court; and the ordinary expenditure was thirty pounds a week, which was increased by ten or twelve pounds when he himself lodged in the house. At Theobald's his household amounted to from twenty-six to thirty persons; and the establishment, in his absence, was maintained at a cost of twelve pounds weekly. Twenty or thirty poor people were also daily relieved at the gate; and twenty shillings besides was given weekly to the poor in money. "His whole household expenses," continues the account, "both at Theobald's and London, being both summed together, his yearly charge was two thousand seven hundred and four pounds, when his lordship was continually at court. But his charge, you may imagine, much increased at his lordship's coming home. For I have heard his officers affirm that at his lordship's being at Theobald's it hath cost him four score pounds in a week; that is, fifty and eight pounds a week more, over and above the former twenty and two. The charge of

* Perhaps he wrote, or intended to write, "no power to show you and yours more good will."

his stable, not here mentioned, was nearly a thousand marks at the least. Besides which certain charge, he bought great quantities of corn in times of dearth to furnish markets about his house at under-prices, to pull down the price to relieve the poor. He gave also for releasing of prisoners, in many of his latter years, forty and fifty pounds in a term. And, for twenty years together, he gave yearly in beef, bread, and money, at Christmas, to the poor of Westminster, St. Martin's, St. Clement's, and Theobald's, thirty-five, and sometimes forty, pounds *per annum*. He gave also yearly to twenty poor men lodging in the Savoy twenty suits of apparel. He gave also for three years before he died to poor prisoners and poor parishes, in money weekly, forty and five shillings. So as his certain alms, besides extraordinaries, was cast up to be five hundred pounds yearly, one year with another." We have afterwards a description of the order and government of his house:—" After performance of business (as few men about him were idle), there were prayers every day said in his chapel at eleven of the clock, where his lordship and all his servants were present; for he seldom or never went to dinner without prayers. And so likewise at six of the clock, before supper. Which course was observed



and meal at their pleasures. Which I have seldom seen in any house; especially any house having so many retainers resorting continually, either for suits or private business. His lordship was himself served with men of quality and ability; for most of the principal gentlemen in England sought to prefer their sons and heirs to his service. Insomuch as I have numbered in his house, attending on the table, twenty gentlemen of his retainers of a thousand pounds per annum a piece, in possession and reversion; and of his ordinary men as many, some worth a thousand pounds, some worth three, five, ten, yea twenty thousand pounds, daily attending his lordship's service." These details give us as complete a picture of the housekeeping of our old nobility as is perhaps any where to be found. And in how strong a light do they bring before us the difference in all things between the time to which they relate and our own! Lord Burghley maintains, at a cost of about four thousand a year, a style of living which forty thousand a year certainly could not now match; we may say, therefore, that money was in those days of at least ten times the value that it is now: what should we think then of gentlemen of ten thousand a year giving attendance as servants at a nobleman's table, or of persons worth two hundred thousand pounds officiating in the same capacity? The space through which society has moved in the three centuries shows much greater measured by indications of this kind than even when we look back to the dinners of our ancestors at noon, and their suppers at seven in the evening—with prayers every day before both.

Lord Burghley's three houses, that at London, Burghley House, near Stamford, and Theobald's, at Waltham, in Hertfordshire, were all wholly or chiefly built by himself, and were all mansions of great magnificence. Burghley is still the seat of his descendant, the Marquess of Exeter. Theobald's, which became the property of his second son Robert, was exchanged by him with James I. for Hatfield, in the same county, now the splendid residence of his descendant the Marquess of Salisbury. Theobald's was afterwards destroyed



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About the end of the seventeenth cent
verted into the late Exeter Change ;
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said's, "at the first," says the Domestic, "he but for a little pile, as I heard him say; but, he came to entertain the queen so often there, he forced to enlarge it, rather for the queen and her train, and to set the poor on work, than for pomp; for he ever said, it would be too big for the living he could leave his son. . . . His lord-

extraordinary charge in entertainment of the was greater to him than to any of her subjects. He entertained her at his house twelve several which cost him two or three thousand pounds time, the queen lying there at his lordship's sometimes three weeks or a month, yea six together. . . . Her majesty sometimes had

strangers and ambassadors came to her at Theobald's, where she hath been seen in as great royalty, served as bountifully and magnificently, as at any time or place, all at his lordship's charge; with shows, pleasant devices, and all manner of sports could be devised, to the great delight of her maund her whole train, with great thanks of all who look of it, and as great commendation from all that of it abroad." Yet Burghley was by no means

of overgrown possessions. At his death the of his land did not exceed four thousand a year; he left only about eleven thousand pounds in money, of the value of about fourteen or fifteen thousand plate, of which a great part was bequeathed in his will. "And this," observes his Domestic, "was

the great wealth of so great a counsellor, living forty years together in his prince's favour, in so great reputation, so great offices, and so peaceable a time, as, if he had sorted to his power, he might have gained in that time ten times the value." No; his nature though cold, was not mean or sordid, nor his heart covetous or selfish. Neither, with all his firmness, which might call sternness, was his temper unkind or unkindly harsh, but the contrary. "In thirty years after," writes his Domestic, "he was seldom seen to be moved with joy in prosperity, or sorrow in

adversity. Thus his even temper was ever noted as one of his greatest virtues, until within three or four years before his death, when age (the mother of morosity), and continuance of sickness, altered even the course of his nature, with pains in his body, griefs and cares in his mind, crosses in council, and oppression with multitude of business; . . . which, not succeeding nor sorting to his desires, so distempered his mind, as bereaved him of his wonted mildness, altered his natural disposition, and gave way to age's imperfections. But his anger was never fondly passionate nor furious. His words were but wind; no sooner spoken than forgotten. For he would presently speak fair again. As for instance, if he had angrily spoken to one of his servants, he would almost immediately speak fair, and as it were seek to be friends with him. And commonly he would soonest do for such as he had fallen out with. Here was a noble nature, by whose anger many found more good than by others' fair flattering speeches." Other traits of his character and habits that speak well for him are afterwards mentioned. "His kindness, as nature ever leads all men, was most expressed to his children, to whom there was never man more loving nor tender-hearted . . . And, which is ever a note of good nature, if he could get his table set round with his young little children, he was then in his kingdom; and it was an exceeding pleasure to hear what sport he would make with them, and how aptly and merrily he would talk with them; with such pretty questions and witty allurements, as much delighted himself, the children, and the hearers. . . . He had his own children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren ordinarily at his table, sitting about him like olive branches. . . . If he might ride privately in his garden upon his little mule, or lie a day or two at his little lodge at Theobald's, retired from business or too much company, he thought it his greatest greatness and only happiness. . . . Or, if he could get any of his old acquaintance who could discourse of their youth, or of things passed in old time, it was notable to hear what merry stories he would tell. . . . He was ch.

spare and temperate diet, and the finest feeder of any man that ever I saw ; eating never but of two or three dishes ; drinking never above thrice at a meal, and very seldom wine. And he would many times forbear suppers, if he found his stomach offended. And, above all things, what business soever was in his head, it was never perceived at his table, where he would be so merry, as one would imagine he had nothing else to do ; directing his speech to all men according to their qualities and capacities, so as he raised mirth out of all men's speeches, augmenting it with his own, whereby he wanted no company, so long as he was able to keep company . . . His recreation was chiefly in his books, wherewith if he had time he was more delighted than others with play at cards." Burghley's favourite book is said to have been Cicero's Offices: it is affirmed that to his dying day he always carried it about with him, either in his bosom or his pocket. Perhaps every man would find the profit as well as the pleasure of making some one book thus, as it were, a part of himself. The great statesman had his favourite study too, and a singular one it may seem to many persons ; it was genealogy—not one of the fashionable *logies* of the present day, but yet having an interest of its own, as well as fish-logy or shell-logy, and at any rate not ill fitted to occupy and amuse the leisure of a busy life in that age, when it was much more connected with prevailing habits of thought than now. A number of pedigrees drawn out by Lord Burghley are still preserved in the archbishop's library at Lambeth. " Books," continues the affectionate chronicler from whose interesting recollections we have borrowed so largely, " were so pleasing to him, as, when he got liberty from the queen to go unto his country house to take the air, if he found but a book worth the opening, he would rather lose his riding than his reading. And yet riding in his garden and walks, upon his little mule, was his greatest disport. But, so soon as he came in, he fell to his reading again, or else to despatching of business . . . He seldom or never played at any game, for he could play at none. Yet he would sometimes look

on a while on shooters or bowlers, as he rid abroad." In another place we are told that his reading was for the most part in Latin, French, or Italian, and that he very seldom read any English books. This may serve in part to account for the treatment Spenser is said to have had to complain of, when the queen's bounty to the poet was attempted to be checked by her grave-browed minister; he probably despised the Fairy Queen, and concluded that it could not be worth the reading, as being written in the vulgar tongue.

But we must draw to a close. Burghley, as well as her other ministers, sometimes experienced a little of the effects of Elizabeth's caprice and occasional violence of temper, but he was never to any serious extent, or for any considerable space of time, out of favour. If, also, he thought he had on some occasions reason to complain of not being sufficiently supported, or of his advice being disregarded, because some temporary favourite had possession of the royal ear, such was scarcely ever the case on any great emergency; the giving the command of the forces in Holland to Leicester was almost the only very important step which Elizabeth is known to have taken in opposition to Burghley's advice. Nor, with whatever sharpness she may



and the body than anything else. At the least one thinks of Burghley and Elizabeth almost as of husband and wife. Such a husband was the only sort of one suitable for the Man-Queen.

Burghley's spreading branches flourished green for a long while; but decay must needs overtake at last whatever is earthly. The first stroke, long deferred, that fell upon him was the death of his venerable mother in March, 1587; next, in April, 1589, he lost his wife. He continued, however, to discharge all his public duties for some years after this; taking a leading part in the debates of the House of Lords when parliament was sitting, as well as overlooking and directing the general course of public affairs both at home and abroad as diligently as ever with his politic head and unwearied pen. A report is preserved of an elaborate speech made by him in the parliament which met in February, 1593 (the last which sat during his time); several of the state papers drawn up by him that have been published are of still later date; and of those addressed to him some are dated several years after this. In one of his letters, however, written in May, 1593, we find him speaking in strong terms of his sufferings from broken health. The letter is to his son Robert, and, having finished the business part of it, he adds in a postscript, "If I may not have some leisure to cure my head, I shall shortly ease it in my grave." His thread of life, however, was spun out for a considerable space longer; his death did not take place till the 4th of August, 1598; "wherein," says his domestic biographer, in concluding a detailed account of his last hours, which, like all his life, were radiant with piety, "one thing was observed as most strange, namely, that, though many watched to see when he should die, he lay looking so sweetly, and went away so mildly, as in a sleep, that it could scarce be perceived when the breath went out of his body."

Besides his two sons, Thomas by his first wife, who was in 1605 created Earl of Exeter, and was the ancestor of the present Marquess of Exeter, and Robert,

also two other sons and a daughter, w
infancy.







took about two centuries to weld into a common
 tongue the two perfectly distinct languages spoken in
 England from the time of the Norman Conquest ; about
 two more to shape that common tongue into the general
 form of what is now called English ; a third space of the
 same length to bring the compound thus produced to
 the state in all essential respects in which it has remained
 ever since, and will no doubt remain while it continues
 to subsist. In other words, for the first two hundred
 years the Saxon and Norman were still two separate
 languages, whose streams were distinguishable even
 while flowing in the same channel ; in the second period
 the two mingled elements were in a state of effervescence,
 of something like contention ; in the third, they were
 perfectly interfused and united, but still in a state of
 transition, and only advancing to maturity. By the
 middle of the twelfth century, Saxon and Norman had
 been together into one body ; by the middle of the four-

teenth that body had acquired a perfect unity of spirit, character, and tendency ; by the middle of the sixteenth it had achieved its full growth and ultimate form and condition.

The completion of the first of these three periods produced nothing which has lived in or can be said to belong to our literature. What was then accomplished, indeed, was rather the destruction of the two old tongues than the creation of a new one. But the termination of the second period produced the poetry of Chaucer ; the termination of the third, the poetry of Spenser. While Chaucer, however, is one of the greatest writers of our own or any other country, his poetry is hidden or obscured to the popular eye under the disguise of a language that has become to a great extent dead or obsolete—that is not, either in its vocables or its grammatical forms, the English that we now speak, but requires to be in great part translated, like a foreign tongue, in order to be made generally intelligible. Spenser has the advantage of having written after the language had become substantially what it still remains, and of being, with the exception of a word here and there, as universally and readily intelligible as any poet of our own day. While Chaucer, therefore, has been properly called the morning star of our poetry, Spenser is its morning sun. The daylight of our literature begins with him.

As for the intervening time between Chaucer and Spenser, it was the era only of imitatorship and abortive effort. The greater part of the poetry of that grey of the morning is a mere reflection of Chaucer ; what of it aims at being anything more is still only either a feeble or a lurid light even when it is most original. Lydgate may serve for an exemplification of its more common character ; Surrey, Wyatt, and Gascoigne, of that of it which, aiming at a note of its own, was still as it were too timid to raise its voice properly ; Skelton and Buckhurst, of what of it evinced most of force and daring, though as yet rather in contest than in conquest. The first voice of song heard in this new era that was really full and free was that of Spenser.

Edmund Spenser was certainly a native of London. This he has told us himself in the plainest words in one of his poems—his *Prothalamion*, or spousal verse, on the marriages of the Ladies Elizabeth and Katherine Somerset—in which his words are,—

“ — merry London, my most kindly nurse,
That to me gave this life's first native source.”

The tradition is, that he drew his first breath in the district of East Smithfield, near the Tower. But no record of his birth has been discovered. The former inscription on his monument in Westminster Abbey, which was put up many years after his death, in stating him to have been born in the year 1510, undoubtedly exhibited an entirely inadmissible date ; but there are some difficulties attendant upon the account commonly given which makes him not to have come into the world till 1552 or 1553. That date has been deduced from what he says in one of his sonnets (the 60th), in which, writing in 1593 or 1594, he speaks or seems to speak of having then lived forty and one years, or, as he puts it, one year during which the planet of Love had shone clear to him, and forty which he had wasted “ in long languishment,” or without that consolation. But perhaps we ought to add some space in which he could not well be said to be either a languishing or a prosperous lover. Yet that again would carry back the time of his birth rather too far for the known dates of some of the events of his life. No very certain conclusion, however, it must be confessed, can be grounded on the evidence of the sonnet, the meaning of which is extremely obscure and disputable.

In his printed works Spenser repeatedly claims kindred with the chief family of his name, the Spensers, or Spencers, of Althorpe, from whom both the Earls Spencer and the Dukes of Marlborough are sprung. In the *Prothalamion*, already cited, while he intimates that London was his birth-place, he adds,—

“ *Though from another place I take my name,✱
An house of ancient fame.*”

By taking his name he must be supposed to mean taking it by descent or connexion ; the mere identity of surname would not have been worth mentioning. But there is abundant evidence that the relationship was admitted by the Spensers of Althorpe, as well as claimed by the poet. The daughters of Sir John Spenser of Althorpe, the head of the family, were the principal persons, after the queen, the protection of whose names he was wont to seek, as was the fashion of that age, for his published works. He has three dedications addressed to as many of these ladies. In that prefixed to his 'Mother Hubbard's Tale,' which is addressed to the Lady Compton and Monteagle, Sir John's fifth daughter, Anne, he observes that he has often sought opportunity by some good means to make known to her ladyship the humble affection and faithful duty which he has always professed and is bound to bear to that house from which she springs, and he beseeches her to accept the present poem as a pledge of the profession he thus makes, until with some other more worthy labour he may redeem it out of her hands, and discharge his utmost duty. The peculiar connexion which this language implies is indicated with more distinctness in the dedication of his ' Muiopotmos ' to Lady Carey, Sir John Spenser's second daughter,



ladyship to acknowledge." These three poems were all published in 1591. And there can be no doubt that it is to the same ladies he alludes in his 'Colin Clout's Come Home Again,' where he says,—

"Ne less praiseworthy are the sisters three,
The honour of the noble family
Of which I meanest boast myself to be,
And most that unto them I am so nigh."

It is only within these few years, however, that any clue has been discovered to the particular branch of the Spensers to which the poet belonged. The discovery was made by a living descendant of the same stock, Mr. F. C. Spenser, of Halifax, and was communicated by him to the public in a communication which appeared in the 'Gentleman's Magazine' for August, 1842. The evidence produced in this paper may be considered to make it nearly certain that Spenser's immediate progenitors were the owners of a small property still known by the name of *Spensers*, lying about two miles to the north-west of Burnley, in the eastern part of Lancashire. Edmund is far from being one of the most common of English Christian names; nor is it found to prevail in the pedigree of any other branch of the Spensers, as far as is known. If it were only that among the old Lancashire Spensers there appeared to have been several who bore this name of Edmund, even that would afford some presumption that the family of the poet was to be sought for in that quarter. But it chanced that, besides Edmund, we have another not very common name in the poet's family. Not only the poet himself, but both his grandson and his great-great-grandson, by his eldest son, bore the name of Edmund; and it appears that another of his sons bore the equally far from common name of Lawrence. Now it turns out that both Edmund and Lawrence, comparatively rare as they are in general, were the most usual of all Christian names among the Spensers formerly seated in the neighbourhood of Burnley. In the various parish registers of the district Mr. F. C. Spenser found, from about the middle of the sixteenth to

the end of the seventeenth century, above forty entries containing the names of either Edmund or Lawrence Spenser. The probability thus arising that the names of Edmund and Lawrence in the family of the poet were derived from this quarter will be admitted to be very strong. It appears also that the head of these Lancashire Spensers in the time of Elizabeth was an Edmund Spenser of Worsthorpe: Worsthorpe is a village about two miles east of Burnley, and this Edmund Spenser was the successor of an Adam le Spenser, who had held the same lands by military tenure in the early part of the reign of Edward II. It is further stated by Mr. F. C. Spenser that a communication he has had from John Travers, Esq., of Birch-hill, Cork, who is descended from a sister of the poet, confirms his opinion that the family were from Lancashire; and he afterwards speaks of having *ascertained* that they were from that particular county, on the authority of Mr. Travers.

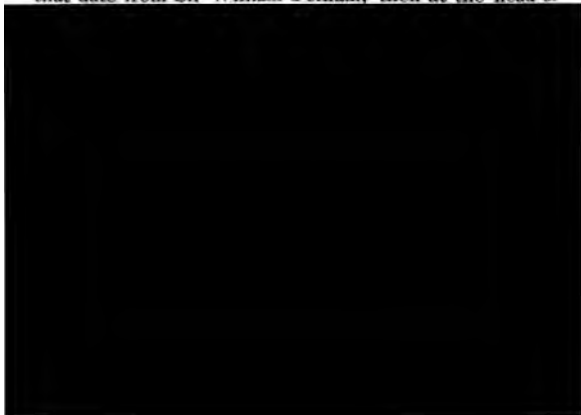
It has always, indeed, been believed that Spenser had relations in the north of England, and we shall presently find that he certainly spent a part of his early life there. Mr. F. C. Spenser conceives his grandfather to have been a Lawrence Spenser, whose burial is recorded in the register of the New Church in Pendle, the parish in



Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber to have that year brought despatches to her Majesty from Sir Henry Norris, ambassador in France: Mr. Peter Cunningham, to whom we are indebted for the discovery of this entry, and for its announcement in his 'Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court,' published in 1842 by the Shakespeare Society, is inclined to believe that it refers to the poet. Again, we find George Turberville, who had recently gone out to Russia as secretary to the English ambassador, addressing an epistle in verse from that country in 1569 to a friend whom he calls Spenser, and who is stated by Anthony Wood to have been Edmund Spenser the poet; the epistle is printed along with Turberville's 'Tragical Tales,' and also in the first volume of Hakluyt's Voyages, both of which works appeared in Spenser's lifetime, and when he was the only person to whom the name used as it is in this instance could well be understood to apply. Yet, if he be really the person referred to in all or any of these cases, it is difficult to believe that he could have been at this time no older than sixteen or seventeen. Even nineteen, which he would be if we carry back his birth to 1550, seems too early an age either for the intimate friend of Turberville, who was then a man of about thirty, or for one already employed as an ambassador's courier. A fourth fact of the same date is still more difficult to reconcile than any thing that has yet been mentioned with the common supposition that Spenser was born in 1552 or 1553. In a work called Vander Noodt's Theatre of Worldlings, which was printed at London in this year, 1569, are found translations in rhyme of six sonnets of Petrarch's, which twelve years afterwards were reprinted as Spenser's in a collection of his minor poems, under the title of 'The Visions of Petrarch formerly translated.' Were these translations, then, which have besides all the characteristics of his style and manner, produced by him when he was only a boy of sixteen or seventeen? We can only say that they were certainly composed in or before the year 1569. And so were translations in blank verse, also found in Vander Noodt's book, of eleven sonnets of

the French poet Du Bellay, which in like manner were reprinted as Spenser's in the same collection of 1591, with only such alterations as were required to convert them into rhyme. There can hardly be a doubt that Spenser was really the author of both these sets of translations, and also of those of a seventh sonnet of Petrarch and four others of Du Bellay, which likewise appeared in the Theatre of Worldlings in 1569, but were not reprinted.

Upon the whole, of the four notices that have been mentioned, both the first, that of the Edmund Spenser of Warwickshire, and the second, that of the government courier, may be considered as most probably referring to some other person than the poet. The former may have been the poet's father, as Mr. Collier suggests: the latter seems most likely to have been the same Mr. Spenser who is mentioned by James VI. of Scotland in a letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated at St. Andrew's, 2nd July, 1583, as having been detained by him that he might carry the letter to England; and also perhaps with a Mr. Spenser who appears to have been repeatedly deputed from the Irish government to England about or before the year 1580, and who is spoken of in a letter of that date from Sir William Pelham, then at the head of



and that of M.A. in 1576. We have both direct testimony, and, what is still more satisfactory, the abundant evidence of his writings, to the fact that he was one of the most learned scholars of his time; yet it does not appear that he ever obtained any other university honour except his degrees. There may be some foundation for the tradition preserved by Aubrey, and derived by him from Dryden, that he failed in a competition for a fellowship of his college, although it was not, as Aubrey's story makes it to have been, the one which Bishop Andrews got. There are traces of his having met with some disappointment, or mortification, at the hands of the authorities of Pembroke Hall, his connexion with which is nowhere alluded to in his poetry, although he has several times commemorated Cambridge as his *Alma Mater*. While resident at Cambridge he contracted an intimate friendship with Gabriel Harvey, who was first of Christ's Church and afterwards of Trinity Hall, and who became one of the most distinguished scholars and writing men of his time, but is most famous as the antagonist and butt of Nash and Greene and the other wits of that knot. Harvey, who became a Doctor of Laws in 1585, survived till 1630; and he and Spenser would appear to have been of about the same age, so that the latter cannot well be supposed to have been born much before the date commonly assigned.

Upon leaving the University, which he did probably in 1576 or 1577, Spenser is stated to have gone to reside with some relations that he had in the north of England. This account of all the biographers remarkably accords with and confirms the recent discovery of his family having been originally from Lancashire. That he did about this time reside for a space in the north country we have the express testimony of the author (whoever he may have been) of the gloss or commentary published by Spenser himself with his *Shepherd's Calendar* in 1580. He is spoken of, too, as having been "master of our northern dialect" by Dryden, who appears to have taken a great interest in Spenser's history, and who had,

lamentation over his ill success in his
his friend Harvey, there called Ho-
trust him to farm the soil by which
and

These hills where harborough^a n
Nor hilly bush, nor beere,^c nor v
And in the dale resort, where sh
And fruitful flocks, been^d every

- "This is no poetical fiction," say
Gloss. - but unfeignedly spoken (for
for special occasion of private affi-
party of himself informed), and for
removed out of the North parts, and
as Erasmus, indeed, advised him
land." The commentator further infor-
the First Eclogue. - is also a feigned
well advised, will betray the very
mistress, whom by that name he co-
his Gloss on the Fourth Eclogue, wi-
binal, speaks of his friend, under t
wedding - the widow's daughter of 1

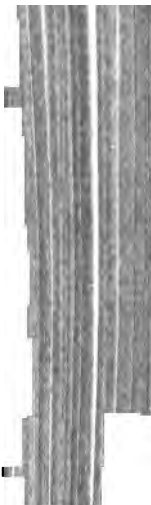
Robinol be grieved that so she should be commended to immortality for her rare and singular virtues." There is a notice of Rosalind in a printed letter of Harvey's, which confirms this account, implying, as it does, that she was not only a gentlewoman, but quite capable of appreciating her scholarly and gifted lover: he speaks of her as "gentle Mistress Rosalind," who had once declared Spenser "to have all the intelligences at command, and another time christened him Signior Pegaso." Aubrey reports, on the authority of Dryden, that Rosalind was a kinswoman of the lady of Sir Erasmus Dryden, that poet's grandfather. But Spenser is believed to have delineated this his first lady-love and her history at full length in the Seventh and Eighth Cantos of the Sixth Book of his *Fairy Queen*, where, having been introduced riding upon an ass, led by a carle and fool," she is thus further described:—

She was a lady of great dignity,
 And lifted up to honourable place,
 Famous through all the Land of Faîry,
 Though of mean parentage and kindred base;
 Yet decked with wondrous gifts of nature's grace,
 That all men did her person much admire
 And praise the feature of her goodly face;
 The beams whereof did kindle lovely fire
 In the hearts of many a knight and many a gentle
 squire.

But she thereof grew proud and insolent,
 That none she worthy thought to be her fere,*
 But scorned them all that love unto her meant;
 Yet was she loved of many a worthy peer;
 Unworthy she to be beloved so dear,
 That could not weigh of worthiness aright;
 For beauty is more glorious, bright, and clear,
 The more it is admired of many a wight,
 And noblest she that served is of noblest knight.

But this coy damsel thought, contrariwise,
 That such proud looks would make her praised more,

* Companion, mate.



Did languish long in life-consuming
And at the last through dreary dolour
Whilst she, the lady of her liberty,
Did boast her beauty had such sover
That with the only twinkle of her eye
She could or save or spill whom she c
What could the Gods do more, but do

The notice of the powers above, how
attracted to such arrogance and selfish
bella, being arraigned at the bar of
adjudged by the God to wander the wor
by the hideous giant Disdain, and drive
the scourge of the fool Scorn, till she sh
many lovers as she had destroyed.

So now she had been wandering two v
Throughout the world in this uncomel
Wasting her goodly hue in heavy tear
And her good days in dolorous disgrac
Yet had she not in all these two years'
Saved but two; yet in two years befor
Through her despicable pride, whilst
She had destroyed two and twenty m

Here in this bottle," said the sorry maid,
 I put the tears of my contrition,
 Till to the brim I have it full defrayed;
 And in this bag, which I behind me don,
 put repentance for things past and gone.
 Yet is the bottle leak,^b and bag so torn,
 That all which I put in falls out anon,
 And is behind me trodden down of Scorn,
 Who mocketh all my pain, and laughs the more I
 mourn."

The supposition that Mirabella represents Rosalind be-
 bounded, some light perhaps might be got for the
 very of the lady's real name from the family history
 of Drydens. The circumstance that, although of
 an elevated station and also of cultivated mind, she was of
 a low origin is, if true, a distinctive mark by which there
 is a hope of identifying her.

Dryden farther told Aubrey that Spenser was an ac-
 quaintance of his grandfather, Sir Erasmus, and a fre-
 quent guest at his house, which was at Canons Ashby,
 Northamptonshire. "The chamber there at Sir Eras-
 mus" adds Aubrey, "is still called Mr. Spenser's
 chamber." It was probably here that the poet met with
 her—unless we are to suppose that it was his ac-
 quaintance with her that introduced him to the Drydens.

In all events he appears to have been still entangled
 in an unprosperous attachment, when, by the advice of
 Francis Harvey, as it would seem, he was induced to
 go to the north in 1578 or 1579. He is stated, as we
 have seen, to have transferred himself to the south "for
 the occasion of private affairs," as well as "for his
 preferment;" and his connexion with London as
 a birthplace, and probably also the residence of his
 father or of some of his nearest relations, may have had a
 great influence in bringing him thither. He now became known
 (afterwards Sir Philip) Sidney, in what way is
 fully related. The following is Aubrey's version of

^a Filled.

^b Leaky.

was wearied, and went his way discontented to come again. When Sir Philip was so exceedingly delighted with it, he was so extremely sorry he was gone, and where he knew not. After much inquiry he learned and sent for him, and ordered his servant to give him ——— pounds in gold. His servant gave him too much. 'No,' said Sir Philip, 'he must have an addition.' From this time the friendship between them to his dying was evidently a blundering account; for, in the Queen, or even the first part of the poem, is not finished at this time, as seems to have been may be reasonably questioned if any poem in the form in which we have it, was written although another of Aubrey's anecdotes is that "lately at the college (meaning, I suppose, broke Hall, Cambridge), taking down the tapestry of his chamber, they found an abundance of stanzas of the Fairy Queen written in the story, however, in a later edition has been put into the following form as it stands in the original manuscript to the Fairy Queen.

a new and uncommon a genius. After he had read some stanzas, he turned to his steward, and bid him give the person that brought those verses fifty pounds; but upon reading the next stanza he ordered the sum to be doubled. The steward was no less surprised than his master, and thought it his duty to make some delay in recuting so sudden and lavish a bounty; but, upon reading one stanza more, Mr. Sidney raised his gratuity to two hundred pounds, and commanded the steward to give it immediately, lest, as he read further, he might be tempted to give away his whole estate." This is a very good story; but how much of it may be true is another question. It may possibly enough have grown out of nothing more than the simple fact that the canto in question was a favourite with Sidney, and that when he first read it, perhaps long after this time, he expressed his admiration in some enthusiastic fashion. It is most probable that Spenser was introduced to Sidney by Harvey, by whose advice, as we have seen, he appears to have come to the south. The most obvious and natural interpretation of various passages in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, that Harvey was desirous of bringing his friend to participate in advantages and enjoyments of which he was himself already in possession. This is the only consistent meaning that can be given to the dialogue represented as taking place between them in the *Sixth Eclogue*. We find Harvey spoken of by Spenser in 1579 as familiarly known to Sidney and his associates at least by reputation; and there is no reason for supposing that they were personally strangers.

Sidney, as the best service he could do his new friend, made him known to his uncle the Earl of Leicester, the powerful royal favourite; and Spenser appears to have resided sometimes at Leicester House, the Earl's town mansion, sometimes at Penshurst, the seat of the Sidneys in Kent. He writes to Harvey in 1579 and 1580 from the former, and his *Shepherd's Calendar* is believed to have been, partly at least, written at the latter. In the *Fourth Eclogue* he calls himself Colin "the Southern Shepherd's boy;" upon which the Gloss has this explanation:—

ragged and barren north, are desc
parts where he now abideth; which
of hills and woods (for Kent is ve
and therefore so called. for *Kan*
tongue signifieth *woody*). yet in
parts they be called dales: for
counted the higher country."

Spenser employed part of his tim
came acquainted with Sidney, unp
the practice of a new species of w
found Sidney and several of his frie
greatly occupied and enamoured—an
English verse to the laws of the anc
prosody. Of this absurd novelty,
name of English versifying, Harve
of being the inventor; and that ci
further presumption in favour of th
Sidney were acquainted. Spenser v
folly as to perpetuate some uncomm
pentameters, and trimeter iambics, v
served: but it may be doubted if he
his professions of adherence to the

whether the same poem with that not published till ten years after this time may be doubted; 'Nine Comedies;' a poem, or collection of poems, entitled 'Dreams;' 'The Dying Pelican;' 'Slumber,' otherwise called 'A Sen- night's Slumber;' 'The Court of Cupid;' a collection of 'Legends;' another of 'Pageants;' another of 'Son- nets;' a poem in *English versifying*, entitled 'Epithala- mion Thamesis,' probably little more than projected; a poetical 'Translation of Moschus's Idyllion of Wandering Love;' a prose treatise entitled 'The English Poet;' a work in Latin, probably a poem, on the history of the family of the Earl of Leicester, entitled 'Stemmata Dudleiana;' and 'The Shepherd's Calendar.'

All these works, except the last-named, and so much, if any, as may remain of the original 'Fairy Queen' in the existing poem so called, are lost; as are also trans- lations of 'Ecclesiastes,' and of 'The Song of Solo- mon,' 'The Seven [Penitential] Psalms,' 'The Hours of the Lord,' 'The Sacrifice of a Sinner,' 'The Hell of Lovers,' 'Purgatory,' and other pieces, even the titles of which have not been preserved, that are mentioned as having been written by him without their dates being stated. We only know that they had all been produced before the year 1591.

The first work which Spenser sent to the press (unless we are to reckon the translations published in Vander Noodt's book ten years before) was his collection of pastorals, one for every month of the year, entitled 'The Shepherd's Calendar,' which appeared in the end of the year 1579. Even that did not carry his name; it is only introduced by a short dedication in verse to Sidney, having attached to it the signature *IMMERITO*, the same which the author assumes in his correspondence with Harvey. The Shepherd's Calendar, though un- equally executed, may be pronounced to have evinced the highest poetical genius that had appeared in England since Chaucer, and to be the earliest poem of equal merit on the whole in the existing form of the language. Nothing that had been produced either by Surrey or Buckhurst had shown anything like the same all-informa-

the author of the Visions of Peter had both inveighed against the al Spenser was naturally led to take up ecclesiastical reformation; and, beside Leicester, who courted the Puritan the same direction. Probably the for a good deal of its popularity to thus breathed, and which would en most excited, energetic, and gro country. Accordingly it was repr four times in the author's lifetime; and 1597. All these early editions, the name of the author; and the She pears not to have been generally kno tion of Spenser for several years afte

Spenser, when he threw himself bably looked to living by his pen reason or other, adopted no professi is known, and his natural resource v already in London afforded to a co adventurers such a support as a sp man struggling in the water. The was probably sold to a bookseller.

court: "Your desire," he says, "to hear of my late being with her majesty must die in itself." From the sequel of the same letter, and from a long valedictory effusion of Latin verse inserted in it, we learn that he was then preparing to set out immediately for the continent on some mission from Leicester. "I beseech you," he writes, "by all your courtesies and graces, let me be answered ere I go; which will be (I hope, I fear, I think) the next week, if I can be dispatched of my lord. I go thither as sent by him, and maintained most-what of him; and there am to employ my time, my body, my mind, to his honour's service." There is no reason, however, for believing that he did actually go abroad at this time. At any rate, if he did, he was not long away. If he was not in London when his *Shepherd's Calendar* was entered in the register of the Stationers' Company on the 5th of December of this same year, he certainly was in April of the year following; for he dates his next letter to Harvey from Westminster on the 10th of that month. Nor does he in that letter make any allusion to his having been abroad. Very soon after this, however, he received an appointment which carried him out of England. In the beginning of August of this year, 1580, Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton was sent over to Ireland as Lord Deputy, and Spenser accompanied him as his private secretary. They arrived in Dublin on the 12th of August, and the Lord Deputy was sworn in on the 7th of September. Grey was related to Leicester and the Sidneys, and there can be little doubt that Spenser was indebted for his secretaryship to their recommendation. He evidently, however, soon came to feel much more than a mere official attachment to the Lord Deputy. Grey, whose government was signalised by some military proceedings against the insurgent natives of great vigour, and which exposed him to much animadversion, figures as one of the most lauded heroes of the Fairy Queen, and both in that poem, and, without the disguise of allegory, in his prose 'View of the State of Ireland,' Spenser has eulogised and defended his administration without re-

serve and with extraordinary ardour. His zeal did not go unrewarded. On the 22nd of March, 1581, he received the additional appointment of Clerk of the Decrees and Recognizances of Chancery; and the same year he obtained by royal grant a lease at an annual rent of 300*l.* of the Abbey of Enniscorthy, with the attached castle and manor, in the county of Wexford, which he conveyed on the 9th of December, no doubt for a valuable consideration, to another person, from whom it was afterwards purchased by Sir Henry Wallop, the ancestor of the Earls of Portsmouth, in whose family the property still remains. It now yields an annual rental of many thousand pounds. Grey was recalled from his government in the end of August, 1582, and Spenser is supposed to have returned with him to England; but he appears to have nevertheless retained his office of Clerk in the Irish Court of Chancery, nor did he quit it till the 22nd of June, 1588, when he exchanged it for that of Clerk of the Council of Munster. Meanwhile, on the 27th of June, 1586, as is commonly stated, he had obtained from the queen a grant of 3028 acres of land, consisting of the manor and castle of Kilcolman, in the barony of Fermoy, and county of Cork, being a portion of the immense forfeited estates of the Earl of Desmond, the final suppression of whose rebellion had been Lord Grey's capital achievement. A late writer, however, Mr. Hardiman, to a long note in the first volume of whose 'Irish Minstrelsy,' published in 1831, we have been indebted for several new facts, makes the date of this grant to be, on the authority of the original *fiat* in the Rolls Office, Dublin, the 26th of October, 1591. The common account of the latter portion of Spenser's life is wrong throughout, if he was not seated at Kilcolman before this. It may be a mistake, indeed, to suppose that he returned to England with Lord Grey in 1582, or that he ever was out of Ireland from 1580 to 1590; but if we are to suppose that he had not acquired possession of Kilcolman before the latter year, how are we to interpret his own relation in his 'Colin Clout's Come Home Again'; where he

represents Raleigh, under the name of the Shepherd of the Ocean, as having come to him at Kilcolman, and taken him with him to England, where he was introduced at court, and bountifully rewarded for his minstrelsy by Elizabeth, whom he calls Cynthia, and of his obligations to whom and to Raleigh the poem is in fact mainly a celebration? This visit to England must, apparently, have been that which he made for the purpose of sending to press the first part of his *Fairy Queen*, which was entered in the Stationers' Register on the 1st of December, 1589, and published in 1590.

The *Fairy Queen*, as yet consisting only of the three first books, was dedicated in a short inscription to Elizabeth; and in February, 1591, her majesty conferred upon Spenser a pension of fifty pounds a year. His new work, the first in which his name was given to the world, had now raised him to the highest reputation and popularity. In this same year, 1591, his bookseller, William Ponsonby, published, in a small quarto volume, a collection of all his other pieces which he could procure, under the title of 'Complaints; containing sundry small Poems of the World's Vanity;' with an Address to "The Gentle Reader," in which he says, "Since my late setting forth of the *Fairy Queen*, finding that it hath found a favourable passage amongst you, I have sithence endeavoured, by all good means, for the better increase and accomplishment of your delights, to get into my hands such small poems of the same author's, as I heard were dispersed abroad in sundry hands, and not easy to be come by by himself; some of them having been diversely embezzled and purloined from him since his departure over sea." The pieces of which this collection consists are, *The Ruins of Time* (an elegy on Sir Philip Sidney, and therefore written since 1586); '*The Tears of the Muses*' (a lamentation over the decay of poetry and learning); and a paraphrastic translation of *Virgil's Gnat*, described as having been "long since dedicated to the most noble and excellent lord, the Earl of Leicester, late deceased;" '*Mother Hubbard's Tale*,' stated in the Dedication to the Lady Compton and Mont-

and it has been asserted that they are not yet extinct. There are undoubted descendants of a sister of the poet, who married a gentleman of the name of Travers, still existing in that county. It appears that after the poet's death his widow married one Roger Seckerstone, and quarrelled with her children by her first husband.

THE END OF VOL. IV.





